

# Open Research Online

---

The Open University's repository of research publications and other research outputs

## Handel and the English Chapel Royal during the reigns of Queen Anne and King George I

### Thesis

#### How to cite:

Burrows, Donald James (1981). Handel and the English Chapel Royal during the reigns of Queen Anne and King George I. PhD thesis The Open University.

For guidance on citations see [FAQs](#).

© 1981 The Author



<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

Version: Version of Record

Link(s) to article on publisher's website:

<http://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21954/ou.ro.0000de15>

---

Copyright and Moral Rights for the articles on this site are retained by the individual authors and/or other copyright owners. For more information on Open Research Online's data [policy](#) on reuse of materials please consult the policies page.

---

[oro.open.ac.uk](http://oro.open.ac.uk)

UNRESTRICTED

Author: Donald James Burrows, M.A. (Cantab.)

Title: Handel and the English Chapel Royal during the  
reigns of Queen Anne and King George I

Degree for which the Thesis is offered: Doctor of  
Philosophy (Open University)

Faculty: Arts

Discipline: Music

Date of Submission: 31st August 1981

Vok 1

No part of the material here presented has previously been submitted for a degree or other qualification to any university or other institution.

References are provided, in the text and in the bibliography, to published work by the author which is relevant to this thesis. A small amount of material from Chapter 4 has been anticipated in the notes accompanying two gramophone recordings (L'Oiseau-Lyre DSLO 541 and DSLO 582), but otherwise there is no repetition of previously published material.

Author's number : HDG 0565

Date of Submission : 1.7.81

Date of award : 21.10.81

Donald James Burrows: Handel and the English Chapel Royal  
during the Reigns of Queen Anne and King George I  
Abstract of Thesis, Ph.D., Open University, 1981

Handel's association with the English Chapel Royal began soon after he settled in London and continued intermittently for the remainder of his life. The thesis traces this association until the death of King George I in 1727. Handel's Chapel Royal music is examined with dual reference to the Chapel's musical traditions and the development of the composer's style. Political events influenced the extent of Handel's involvement with the Chapel at different periods: the relationship between the composer, the Chapel Royal and the British Court is described within the historical context, drawing on many unpublished sources.

After an introductory survey of the repertoire of Handel's Chapel Royal music, the musical history of the Chapel during the period preceding Handel's arrival in London is described, paying special attention to performances of instrumentally-accompanied services and anthems, and the ceremonial Thanksgiving Services of Queen Anne's reign. Handel's experience of church music in Italy and Germany previous to his arrival in England is described, and the contemporary English anthems of William Croft are examined by way of an introduction to Handel's first English Verse Anthem. Two chapters are devoted to Handel's Chapel Royal compositions from the period 1710-1714, including his music celebrating the Peace of Utrecht.

Chapters 6 and 7 investigate the circumstances surrounding Handel's disassociation from the Chapel in 1715-1722 and his subsequent re-establishment there during the last years of George I's

reign. The significance of Handel's appointment as Composer to the Chapel is considered, and a chronology for his Chapel Royal music from the 1720s suggested. The music is examined in detail, and described with reference to related antecedent Chandos Anthems. The later history of Handel's Chapel Royal music is surveyed briefly in the final chapter.

Factual background material is collected in an extended supplement and fifteen appendices.



# CONTENTS

## VOLUME ONE

List of Illustrations	p. vii
Preface and Acknowledgements	p. ix
CHAPTER 1. HANDEL AND THE ENGLISH CHAPEL ROYAL	p. 1
Introduction: The place of the Chapel Royal music, within Handel's English Church Music (p.2)	
Handel and the English Chapel Royal (p.5)	
Repertoire and Chronology of Handel's Chapel Royal music (p.6)	
The scope of this thesis (p.8)	
Sources: 1. Musical (p.10)	
2. Documentary (p.12)	
CHAPTER 2. THE CHAPEL ROYAL BEFORE HANDEL'S ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND	p. 16
The early history of the Chapel Royal (p.17)	
The Chapel Royal Symphony Anthem, 1660-1694	
- Rise and eclipse (p.19)	
Special liturgies for national occasions; the origins and influence of Purcell's	
D major Canticle settings (p.25)	
Queen Anne's reign - Removal of the Chapel Royal to St. James's Palace; the Thanksgiving Services (p.32)	
Change of venue for the Royal Thanksgivings; Music for the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy (p.37)	
CHAPTER 3. FORMATIVE INFLUENCES ON HANDEL'S CHURCH MUSIC; HANDEL AND THE ENGLISH VERSE ANTHEM	p. 49
Germany and Italy, 1698-1710 (p.50)	
Hanover and London, 1710-1712 (p.57)	
The English Verse Anthem: Croft's music (p.62)	
Handel's return to London, 1712 (p.69)	
Anthem 6C: Background (p.71); The Anthem (p.77); Autograph (p.93); Manuscript Copies (p.95)	
CHAPTER 4. HANDEL'S MUSIC FOR THE PEACE OF UTRECHT	p. 97
Handel and the Utrecht Thanksgiving Service (p.98)	
The Utrecht Te Deum (p.106) and Jubilate (p.125): Autograph (p.131); Manuscript Copies and Printed Edition (p.135)	
Handel's Ode for Queen Anne's Birthday (p.140)	
Autograph (p.147); Manuscript Copies (p.148)	
CHAPTER 5. THE REMAINING CHAPEL ROYAL MUSIC FROM THE FIRST PERIOD, 1710-1714	p. 152
The Accession of King George I (p.153)	
The Caroline Te Deum (p.157): Handel's Performances (p.168); Autograph (p.175); Manuscript Copies (p.180)	
Anthem 4A (p.183): Autograph (p.187)	

## CHAPTER 6. INTERLUDE, 1714-1719

p. 189

Handel, the Chapel Royal and Court Politics:  
after 1714 (p.190)

Chandos Anthems (based on previous Chapel Royal music:

Anthem 6A (p.201); Anthem 4 (p.209); Anthem 7 (p.214);  
Anthem 11A (p.220); Anthem 3 (p.221); Anthem 1 (p.223);  
Chandos Te Deum (p.228) .

## CHAPTER 7. HANDEL'S RE-ESTABLISHMENT AT THE CHAPEL ROYAL

p. 235

Developments at Court (p.236)

Special Court Services in the Reign of King George I (p.240)

Handel's Chapel Royal Appointment (p.258)

Handel's Chapel Royal Music from the Second Period (p.263)

## CHAPTER 8. NEW VERSIONS OF ANTHEM 6 - 'AS PANTS THE HART'

p. 267

Anthems 6D and 6B, order of composition (p.268)

Anthem 6D p.275; Autograph (p.283)

Anthem 6B p.286; Autograph (p.307);- 1738 Additions,  
Autograph and copies (p.309); 1722 Version, Principal  
Copy (p.310); Manuscript Copies (p.312)

CHAPTER 9. THE REMAINING MUSIC FROM THE SECOND  
CHAPEL ROYAL PERIOD, 1722-1726

p. 321

Revival of the Caroline Te Deum (p.322)

Anthem 5B p.325; Autograph (p.342);  
Manuscript Copies (p.344)

Te Deum in A Major p.350; Autograph (p.361);  
Manuscript Copies (p.364);

Anthem 11B p.373; Autograph (p.382);  
Manuscript Copies (p.385); Printed Editions (p.390)

## CHAPTER 10. 1727 AND BEYOND

p. 392

1727 - Changes at Court and in the Chapel Royal (p.393)

1727 - Handel's Naturalisation (p.395)

Handel and the Chapel Royal during the Reign  
of King George II (p.398).

The Chapel (Royal) and Handel's Oratorios (p.405)

Later Performances of the Chapel Royal Music (p.411)

(S.F.F.)

(S.F.F.)

(S.F.F.)

(S.F.F.)



VOLUME TWO

(A separate index to individual sections appears at the beginning of Volume 2)

## SUPPLEMENT : CONDITIONS OF PERFORMANCE

p. 1

The Singers; Orchestral Accompaniment; Buildings;  
Arrangements for Rehearsals and Performances; Pitch.

## APPENDICES

p. 141

1. Handel's English Church Music
2. Handel and 'English Religion'
3. Contents of Chapel Royal Word-Books, 1712-1749
4. Regular performances of church music in London, 1690-1760: the programmes of the St. Cecilia Festival Services and Festival Services of the Sons of the Clergy
5. Membership of the choirs of the Chapel Royal, Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's Cathedral, 1700-1760
6. Handel's Chapel Royal soloists
7. System for descriptions of autographs and copies of Handel's music
8. Manuscript Collections of Handel's music
9. Source references for lists of Chapel Royal Travelling Charges, 1700-1760
10. Handel's borrowings and self-borrowings in the Chapel Royal music
11. Handel's re-use of Chapel Royal music
12. Thanksgiving Services, 1714-1789
13. Transcripts of Public Record Office documents relating to Handel and the Chapel Royal, 1723-1726
14. Chapel Royal services with orchestral accompaniment during the reign of King George II, 1727-1760
15. The British Royal Family, 1700-1760

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

p. 192

Section One, Musical Sources: (A) Manuscript Music, (B) Printed Music

Section Two, Documentary/Literary/Historical Sources:  
(A) Manuscript Documentary and Archival Sources,  
(B) Contemporary Printed Sources (before 1760),  
(C) Secondary works cited or utilised.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

VOLUME ONE

- p.114 Chapter 4, Plate 1. The text of the Te Deum, from the Prayer Book used in the Chapel Royal, 1710-1714  
(Author's Collection)
- p.172 Chapter 5, Plate 1. Handel's autograph of the Caroline Te Deum, No. 1, bars 7-11  
(British Library RM 20.g.4)
- p.256 Chapter 7, Plate 1. Copy of the Warrant for Handel's appointment as Composer of Musick for his Majesty's Chappel Royal  
(P.R.O. LC3/63)
- p.269 Chapter 8, Plate 1. Text of 'As Pants the Hart' printed in the Chapel Royal Word-book of 1749  
(Author's Collection)
- p.273 - , Plate 2. Autograph of Anthem 6D, showing the alteration to the Bass part at bar 38 of No. 3  
(British Library RM 20.g.10)
- p.285 - , Plate 3. Word-book for Handel's Oratorio (1738): beginning of Part One  
(Mann Collection, Rowe Library, King's College, Cambridge)
- p.288 - , Plate 4. Handel's additions to the Basso Continuo stave of a score of Anthem 6B in the hand of J.C. Smith the elder.  
(British Library Add. MS 31557)

VOLUME TWO - Supplement

- p. 88 Plate 1. Detail from Robert Trevitt's engraving of the Thanksgiving Service in St. Paul's Cathedral, 31-12-1706  
(Guildhall Library)
- p.104 Plate 2. Sketch of the Chapel Royal, St. James's Palace, in 1816 by R.B. Schnebellie  
(Westminster Public Library)
- p.115 Plate 3. The French Chapel, St. James's Palace, c. 1685. Engraving by Jan Kip  
(Magdalene College, Cambridge)
- p.118 Plate 4. The Wedding of Anne, Princess Royal, and the Prince of Orange in the French Chapel, St. James's Palace, 14-3-1733/4. Engraving by William Kent  
(Guildhall Library)
- p.121 Plate 5. Detail from Plate 4, showing the Musicians' Galleries.



- p. 137 Plate 6. The Autograph of Anthem 4A, showing the transposition instructions added by Handel at the start of No. 2  
(British Library RM 20.g.6)

### Plans in the Supplement

- p. 82 Plan 1. Five of the buildings in which Handel's English Church Music was first performed.  
(D.B.)

- p. 86 Plan 2. St. Paul's Cathedral.  
Mid-19th. century ground-plan

(P.R.O. Works 38/162)

- p. 87 Plan 3. St. Paul's Cathedral. Plan of the Choir before alterations and removal of the Organ Screen

(F.C. Penrose)

- p. 89 Plan 4. St. Paul's Cathedral. The Musicians' Gallery  
(D.B.)

- p. 99 Plan 5. St. James's Palace in the Eighteenth Century, showing the location of the Chapel Royal and the French Chapel.

(A.T. Bolton)

- p. 104 Plan 6. The Chapel Royal, St. James's Palace, from a Survey in 1729 by H. Flitcroft

(P.R.O. Works 34/121 & 122)

- p. 117 Plan 7. The French Chapel, St. James's Palace, from Flitcroft's Survey, 1729

- p. 124 Plan 8. St. Lawrence's Church, Whitechurch (Cannons Park), Stanmore, Middlesex

(D.B.)



## PREFACE

When I embarked on this study of Handel's Chapel Royal music, I was aware of the size of the task that lay ahead. The breadth of the subject was both a difficulty and a challenge: the quality of the music and the historical importance of the topic made the difficulty and the challenge well worth facing. As explained in Chapter 1, my original plan to cover the complete history of Handel's association with the Chapel Royal quickly burst the bounds of the possible. If the present study still remains on the large side this demands only a limited apology, since it is the result of my endeavour to present a complete story within a coherent historical framework. The quantity and the intricacy of the material, musical and historical, with a direct bearing on the subject created its own demands. Background material to the main narrative of the thesis I have placed in a separate volume, as the Supplement 'Conditions of Performance' and fifteen Appendices. The Bibliography is also in the second volume, partly with a view to facilitating references from Notes in the main text.

I have presented the main text of the thesis on the right-hand page of each opening, with notes and references on the facing left-hand page. In a few cases the text and the notes are unavoidably broken up by plates or whole-page music examples, but I hope that the arrangement is otherwise both manageable and convenient. Short-title or abbreviated references to printed and manuscript source material are used, following the system explained in the introduction to the Bibliography. For reference to Handel's music I have in general used Chrysander's Händelgesellschaft (HG) edition: although this is not perfect, it is still the most complete edition available. Where there is a more modern edition of an individual work, and a definite advantage in using it for reference, I have naturally done so. The system of references to Handel's English Church Music is explained in Appendix 1, which gives the numbering of individual movements for each work. The few musical examples which, for convenience of size and format, I have reproduced from Chrysander's edition, have been checked against the sources and corrected. The remaining musical examples, with the exception of two reproduced directly from an eighteenth-century edition of Croft's Anthems, have been newly written by myself. For descriptions of the manuscript sources of Handel's music I have adopted some features from the work of previous Handel scholars, in particular Larsen and Clausen, but to a certain extent I have had to develop my own system, and this is explained in Appendix 7.

Three other matters call for separate explanation.

#### PITCH SYMBOLS

Helmholz pitch-notation has been used for references to specific pitches, treating each octave as beginning on the note of C. The symbols for the octaves are:

c<sup>8</sup> (64 cycles per second)

c<sup>7</sup> Tenor C

c<sup>6</sup> Middle C

c<sup>5</sup> Treble C



SINGERS' NAMES

In descriptions of the autographs I reproduce Handel's own spellings. Elsewhere I have tried to standardise the spellings, though-eighteenth-century musicians were not always consistent, even in their signatures.

DATES

During the period under investigation, the Old Style (Julian) calendar was in use in England. The year began officially on March 25 (notwithstanding the fact that New Year was celebrated at Court on January 1), but a few sources, including some newspapers from the 1720's, number the year as if it began in January. In order to prevent any confusion, I have adopted the following system as standard:

All date references, unless otherwise stated, are to Old Style.

For any date between January 1 and March 25 the change of year is shown.

- For example, 1-3-1712/3 is to be interpreted as March 1st in Old Style, the year being 1712 according to the system then observed, but 1713 by modern reckoning.

New Style was 11 days ahead, so 1-3-1712/3 (O.S.) would have been 12-3-1713 (N.S.). When quoting documents dated in New Style I have given the Old Style equivalent in brackets. New Style was used in Hanover.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

One of the most exacting demands of my chosen topic has been that I have had to play a double role: a musician for Musicians and a historian for Historians. If I have in any measure succeeded in becoming all things to all men, I owe much to the encouragement I have received from both Musicians and Historians. On all aspects of Handel's music I have benefitted greatly from continuing discussions with Anthony Hicks. Concerning the more specific area of Handel's church music, many of my first ideas were tested out on Graydon Beeks, Jr. when he was beginning his own research for a thesis on the Chandos Anthems: although the Atlantic Ocean has necessarily reduced the quantity of our communication since 1977, I have been grateful for the free interchange of ideas as our topics progressed. I have had fruitful discussions on Handel sources with Terence Best, and on the political situation during Handel's first London years with Duncan Chisholm. Although the outline of Chapel Royal history presented in Chapter 2 is a personal interpretation, I have had several stimulating discussions on the music of the period with Dr. H. Watkins Shaw, Dr. Bruce Wood and Lucy Roe. On Handelian matters also Dr. Shaw has assisted me with appreciative and informed comments. Dr. H. Diack Johnstone has been unfailingly helpful and generous in sharing his experience of source material concerning the Chapel Royal and its music: Dr. Peter le Huray has also shared his interest in various aspects of the Chapel's musical history. In common with many others, my original interest in Handel's music owes much to the enthusiasm of the late Charles Cudworth. The recordings of Handel's music under the direction of

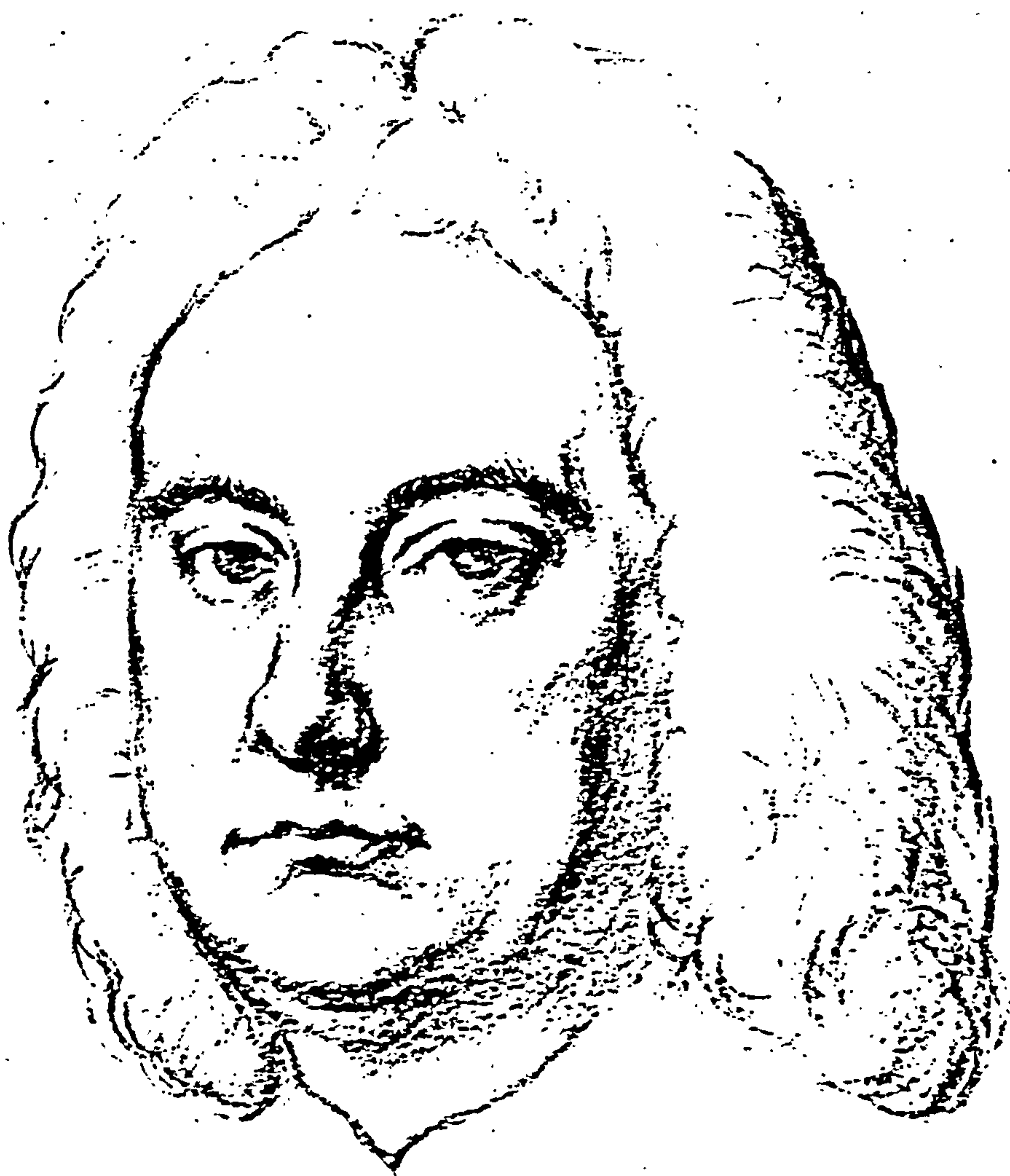


Simon Preston and Christopher Hogwood with which I have been associated have provided much food for thought on matters of performing practice and supplemented the experience of my own revivals of the Chapel Royal music. On historical topics I have pleasure in recording my indebtedness to Professor Ragnhild Hatton for her compendious knowledge and unflagging enthusiasm with regard to Hanoverian affairs, and to Colin Scull, the present Serjeant of the Vestry to Her Majesty's Chapels Royal, for advice on matters concerning the Chapel's history and for enabling me to undertake some rather unusual topographical field-work.

The general encouragement and good-humour with which my work has been received has been as valuable to me as the information on specific matters which I have been able to acknowledge in the Notes to the thesis. My work would have been impossible without the active co-operation of the owners and librarians of source material on which I have drawn: they have produced the necessary materials with unfailing courtesy and efficiency. I thank the owners of private collections for permission to reproduce relevant sections of some documents, pictures and music in the thesis: specific acknowledgements are given in the Notes, and I apologise for any accidental sins of omission.

Without the constant support and encouragement of Professor Gerald Hendrie this thesis would not have existed at all. I thank him for his willingness to accept the project in the first instance and for supervising its progress with a cheerful and generous spirit. The award of a Studentship by Merton College, Oxford, for Hilary Term 1979 enabled me to advance my work considerably: I thank the Warden and Fellows for the privilege, and also Oxfordshire County Council for seconding me from my routine duties for the term. By the time she reaches this sentence, Helen Williams will have survived nearly a year of typing the thesis: I thank her for her care and persistence, and I thank her husband David for reading it through. I must also record my gratitude to Nancy Richards for her photographic work and to Sylvia Butterworth for assistance with collation and the reproduction of music examples. In many ways my greatest debt has been to my own family, who have borne the attrition attending on the preparation of the thesis with great patience and complained only rarely of the drain on family resources, in time and money, which it has entailed.





Mr. Geo. Hendall to  
be sworn Composer  
of Musick for his  
Maj. Chapl. Roy.

We are to require You to Invear and Adm.  
Mr. George Hendall into the place and quality of  
Composer of Musick for his Majestys Chapell Royal  
To have full Exercise, and Enjoy the said place together  
with all rights, Profits, Privileges, and Advantages  
therunto belonging; And for so doing this shall be  
Your Warrant Given &c. this 25<sup>th</sup> day of Feby 1722/3  
in the Ninth Year of his Majestys Reign.

To His Majestys Good Pleasure &c.

J. Collins Newcastle

HANDEL AND THE ENGLISH CHAPEL ROYAL  
DURING THE REIGNS OF QUEEN ANNE AND KING GEORGE I

CHAPTER ONE

HANDEL AND THE ENGLISH CHAPEL ROYAL

page

Introduction: The place of the Chapel Royal  
 music within Handel's English Church Music 2

Handel and the English Chapel Royal 5

Repertoire and chronology of Handel's Chapel  
 Royal music 6

The scope of this dissertation 8

Sources: (1) Musical 10  
 (2) Documentary 12

- 1 In 1959, the bicentenary of Handel's death, the broadcast music critic of The Musical Times expressed the view that in choosing the programmes to celebrate the event the B.B.C. should be selective, 'so that we don't necessarily have all the Chandos Anthems'. (MT, March 1959, p. 143). Two Chandos Anthems still await commercial recordings, and there are no recordings of twelve other works from Handel's church music repertoire.
2. 'Chandos Anthem 12'. O praise the Lord, ye angels of His, is by Maurice Greene. (See Johnstone: Chandos 12). I shall refer to O be joyful in the Lord by its conventional title as Chandos Anthem I, albeit with some reluctance since it is really a canticle: the Utrecht Jubilate, from which it was arranged, has never been regarded as an anthem.



## HANDEL AND THE ENGLISH CHAPEL ROYAL

Introduction: The place of the Chapel Royal music within  
Handel's English church music

As with his oratorios, Handel's church music has remained a living part of our musical culture through the long-standing popularity of a few select works. Just as Messiah, Judas Maccabeus and Israel in Egypt have stood for Handelian oratorio, so have the Coronation Anthems and the Dettingen Te Deum represented the church music, never lacking performances or practical editions. In each case the accidents of fortune have selected untypical works as the models and in both genres the rich diversity of works from which the chosen few sprang has largely been obscured. Under such circumstances the task of putting a whole body of music into historical or critical perspective becomes a large and intricate operation. Winton Dean's major book on the subject of the dramatic oratorios has performed the task for those works, but no comparable study of the church music has yet been published. Nov 1963 to

Handel's English church music comprises 33 individual works forming a sequential chain of compositions. The handful of popular works is, of course, part of this chain, but their popularity has rarely proved a stimulus to the investigation of the remainder. On the contrary, popularity has tended to bring with it the implicit false assumptions that the remainder must be either second rate works or so similar that they do not demand separate investigation.<sup>1</sup> The second assumption has been encouraged by the rather hazy use of the title 'Chandos Anthems' to describe the bulk of the remaining church music. This title is appropriate to only eleven anthems<sup>2</sup> composed during a limited period for performance under specific circumstances. Some of the music of these anthems was derived from

See a bibliography, annotated, of Handel's English church music

See also the list of works in the appendix



of the music which has been composed for the service.

Since the service is held in the Chapel Royal

it is not surprising that the music should be of a high standard.

and it is not surprising that the music should be of a high standard.

and it is not surprising that the music should be of a high standard.

and it is not surprising that the music should be of a high standard.

and it is not surprising that the music should be of a high standard.

and it is not surprising that the music should be of a high standard.

and it is not surprising that the music should be of a high standard.

and it is not surprising that the music should be of a high standard.

and it is not surprising that the music should be of a high standard.

and it is not surprising that the music should be of a high standard.

4. The name 'Chandos Anthems' is itself slightly

anachronistic. James Brydges' main title, during

the period of his association with Handel, was Earl

of Carnarvon. He was not created Duke of Chandos

until 30.4.1719. He had, however, inherited the

subordinate title of Baron Chandos of Sudeley on

the death of his father in October 1714, and on the

strength of this lesser title I retain 'Chandos Anthems'

to describe the music composed for him by Handel. See

Baker & Baker: Brydges and Doyle: Baronage, vol. i

and the same author's Baronage, vol. ii, p. 100.

5. In the case of the Foundling Hospital Anthem the con-

nection with the Chapel Royal is perhaps rather

remote. Of the soloists, only the two trebles came

from the Chapel. There is no list of performers for

the chorus parts but presumably these, as in Handel's

Foundling Hospital Messiah performances, included a good

proportion of Chapel Royal voices.

earlier works, and some movements from the Chandos Anthems were in their turn re-written for later use in new anthems intended for performance under different conditions. The confusion produced by grouping all of the related anthems with the genuine Chandos music and calling them 'Chandos Anthems' has by now been hallowed by time and habit. Most of the blame for this terminological confusion must be laid at the door of the early printed editions. The collection published by Wright and Wilkinson in 1784<sup>3</sup> contained the saving word "chiefly" in its title (The Complete Score of Ten Anthems Composed Chiefly for the Chapel of his Grace the late Duke of Chandos) but Arnold's popular "complete" edition of Handel's works, which put the church music near the beginning of the publication programme, mischievously entitled each one of twelve pieces 'Anthem, in Score, Composed at Cannons, For his Grace the Duke of Chandos between the years 1718 & 1720' without any qualification. Only ten of Arnold's twelve anthems are genuine 'Chandos' productions. His dates are rather on the late side and we can not even be certain that Handel composed them at Cannons. Arnold was not alone in his confusion, for some early manuscript copies of anthems also attribute the wrong music to the Cannons period, but it was Arnold's edition that established the idea of the Chandos Anthems in the public mind.<sup>4</sup>

Chrysander avoided the trap provided by Arnold and correctly gave volumes 34 - 36 of the Händelgesellschaft (HG) edition the simpler all-embracing title "Anthems" (Psalmen in the German edition). The anthems contained in those volumes fall into two categories: Chandos Anthems and anthems composed for performances involving the English Chapel Royal.<sup>5</sup> There the proportion of Chapel Royal music is about fifty per cent, but when the field is widened to include the remainder of Handel's English Church music the balance



changes substantially. Only one other major work (the Chandos Te Deum) belongs with the Chandos Anthems, and the remainder is all Chapel Royal music. In the final total, Chapel Royal music outweighs Chandos music by nearly two to one.

If the Chandos music is relegated to a subsidiary role, a coherent and substantial body of music emerges which was the result of Handel's creative contact with the Chapel Royal. The isolation of the Chapel Royal music enables us to see the chronological pattern of Handel's church music more clearly. Whereas the Chandos music was composed in a burst of activity which probably lasted no more than two years, Handel's compositions for the Chapel Royal cover nearly forty years of his creative life. Inevitably musical fashions changed during that time but, although there are variations in Handel's style, the striking feature of his English church music as a whole is continuity rather than change. It is difficult to point to successive technical innovations or revolutions, and false to imply without considerable qualification that the last works are better than the first. In 1749 Handel could revive the Caroline Te Deum, composed thirty-five years previously, without any sense of stylistic incongruity. The autographs of the early Chapel Royal pieces look rather crude and ill-arranged when compared with the later autographs but the musical technique is fully developed and a movement such as 'Sing unto the Lord' from Anthem 4A is fit to stand next to many later movements. On the other hand the Dettingen Te Deum, his last complete setting of the canticle text and the longest in time-span, is less well-integrated and in some ways less imaginatively treated than the earlier settings. By the time Handel came to England in 1710 he was the master of his craft, which he had learned in Germany and refined in Italy: therefore even the first Chapel Royal pieces are not really "early" works. It seems likely

1. The first of these is the fact that the  
2. ... of the ... of the ... of the ...  
3. ... of the ... of the ... of the ...  
4. ... of the ... of the ... of the ...  
5. ... of the ... of the ... of the ...  
6. ... of the ... of the ... of the ...  
7. ... of the ... of the ... of the ...  
8. ... of the ... of the ... of the ...  
9. ... of the ... of the ... of the ...  
10. ... of the ... of the ... of the ...

6. Hawkins (History, ii, p.852) relates an incident

which suggests that Samuel Weeley, one of the principal singers in the choirs at the Chapel is

Royal and St. Paul's, was a social acquaintance ,

The Dedication of Handel's in 1714. . . .

...reverted back of record the ...

Enrollment Record of the 1st Cavalry Regiment

The English Chapel Royal was an institution which was founded in 1547, and which was the first of its kind in Europe. It was founded by Henry VIII, and was the first of its kind in Europe. It was founded by Henry VIII, and was the first of its kind in Europe. It was founded by Henry VIII, and was the first of its kind in Europe.



held office as one of the Composers of the Chapel Royal for the last 36 years of his life he never took part in its routine work and his status was different from that of the other Composers. His position as a "German" may have made relationships with the English Composers difficult. The newspapers were not above setting Croft up as a rival in 1715, and later on the true state of relations between Handel and Greene remains obscure, though some hints may be gained from events involving the Chapel in the 1730s. Since the Chapel contained a substantial body of professional musicians it is likely that some of them would have been among Handel's personal friends, but there is little reliable evidence on the matter.<sup>6</sup>

Handel's connection with the Chapel Royal must be seen against the background of contemporary politics. The Chapel Royal was an outward and visible part of the English court and could not avoid the backwash of political events: Handel himself was something of a political figure in view of his earlier service at Hanover. Events in the circle of the Royal family affected Handel and his opportunities for providing music for Chapel Royal services. Political events drew Handel to the Chapel to supply music for great national occasions: political pressures probably kept him away from the Chapel at certain other times. The triangular relationship of composer, court and Chapel bore fruit in a series of occasional works. The occasions for which most of the music was written can be identified with certainty and there is sufficient evidence to enable informed guesses to be made about the remainder.

#### Repertoire and chronology of Handel's Chapel Royal music

Handel's Chapel Royal music falls into four periods, each period conveniently contained within a different decade of the eighteenth century.

Period 1 (1710-1714)

As pants the Hart (Anthem 6C)

Utrecht Te Deum, Utrecht Jubilate

Caroline Te Deum in D Major

O sing unto the Lord (Anthem 4A)

The Birthday Ode for Queen Anne, Eternal source of Light divine, also falls within this period.

The Chandos music was composed c. 1717-1718, falling between this period and the next.

Period 2 (1722-1727)

As pants the Hart (Anthems 6D and 6B)

I will magnifie Thee (Anthem 5B)

Te Deum in A Major

Let God arise (Anthem 11B)

Four Coronation Anthems: Zadok the Priest

The King shall rejoice

Let their Hand be strengthened

My Heart is inditing

Period 3 (1734-1740)

Wedding Anthems: This is the Day

Sing unto God

Funeral Anthem: The Ways of Zion do mourn

Period 4 (1743-1749)

Dettingen Te Deum

Dettingen Anthem: The King shall rejoice

Peace Anthem: How beautiful are the Feet

The Foundling Hospital Anthem, Blessed are they that consider-eth the Poor, is contemporary with the Peace Anthem.

One work from Period 1, the Caroline Te Deum, was revived by Handel for later Chapel Royal performances in periods 2 and 4.

It was slightly revised for the performance in Period 2.



Several anthems were used, sometimes in a revised form, in Handel's oratorios, 1732 and later.

A schedule of Handel's English church music, giving references to the published editions and a list of the movement numberings used in this dissertation, is given in Appendix One.

### The scope of this dissertation

My original intention was to review the complete history of Handel's musical association with the Chapel Royal and to examine each one of the works listed above. Such an undertaking promised to run well beyond the accepted bounds for a dissertation, and I have confined my narrative to the first two periods only, stopping before the music for the 1727 Coronation. This seems to be a natural point of termination: Handel's relationship with the Chapel Royal entered a new phase at the start of King George II's reign, under circumstances which are summarised in Chapter Ten. The music to be examined falls into two groups: that which was the result of Handel's association with the Chapel Royal and the English Court during his first years in England, and that composed for Chapel Royal services in the 1720s, during the period in which Handel was appointed 'Composer of Musick for his Majesty's Chappell Royal'.

Concentration on the reigns of Queen Anne and King George I has positive advantages besides chronological convenience. It excludes the Coronation Anthems and the 1737 Funeral Anthem, which have rather less claim than the remainder to be regarded as Chapel Royal music. It is true that the Chapel Royal formed the backbone of the vocal performers in both 1727 and 1737 and that all of the singers named on the autographs of the Coronation Anthems were members of the Chapel Royal, but for the Coronation and the Funeral the Chapel Royal were probably heavily supplemented by outsiders.

The classification of Handel's music for these occasions with the remaining Chapel Royal music is accordingly open to question, though the occasions themselves were ones in which the Chapel Royal traditionally played a central role. No such doubts attach to the music composed before 1727. Only the Utrecht Te Deum and Jubilate were performed under circumstances in which the Chapel Royal might have drawn on external support and there are good reasons for believing that this support, if present, was limited. The Utrecht Thanksgiving service followed the traditions set in previous Thanksgivings: the scale of the Coronation music in 1727 was a new departure. Apart from the Utrecht canticles, all of the music now to be considered was performed by the Chapel Royal musicians in their regular domiciliary Chapel at St. James's Palace.

Although this dissertation does not include detailed examination of Handel's Chapel Royal music composed after 1727, each work has been studied and the brief survey of the sources given in this chapter covers the whole range of the Chapel Royal music. The supplement on the Conditions of Performance of Handel's Chapel Royal music also refers to the complete repertoire, and includes information from the period beyond 1727. Some of the best evidence concerning the routine life of the Chapel and the performance practices associated with Chapel Royal performances comes from this later period. The supporting Appendices on the Chapel Royal singers and the membership of the London Choirs cover the period up to 1760, the year of George II's death and a year after the death of Handel. The material in the Supplement provides vital support to the main body of the dissertation: Handel's Chapel Royal music repeatedly demonstrates that he usually had an accurate knowledge of the circumstances under which his music would be performed before he began composition.



7      See Clausen: Direktionspartituren

SOURCES: (1) Musical

Handel's composition autographs for the Chapel Royal music survive almost completely. Occasional pages are missing but the source situation, as with most of Handel's music, is extremely fortunate. The most serious losses concern the works written after 1727. Only a fragment of the autograph of the Wedding Anthem Sing unto God remains. There are no complete holographs of the other Wedding Anthem, This is the Day, or of the Peace Anthem, How beautiful are the Feet, but these two are special cases and it is doubtful whether a full holograph ever existed. Handel added the names of singers, sometimes chorus or semi-chorus leaders as well as soloists, to each of the substantial autographs of the Chapel Royal music except that of the Funeral Anthem, The Ways of Zion. In doing so he was following the same practice as on the autographs of some of his theatrical works, particularly those (such as the odes) in which the singers are not identified with a particular dramatic character. It is possible, however, that there is a further reason for the presence of the singers' names on the church music. For each of Handel's operas and oratorios a conducting score was normally copied for practical use.<sup>7</sup> This, since it was usually more legible and more tidily arranged than the autograph, probably became in turn the copying source for the performing parts. Unlike the theatrical works, Handel's church music was initially composed with single performances in mind. It is likely that conducting scores were not normally prepared for the church music, and that the autographs therefore had to serve the function of performance scores as well. This certainly seems to be true of the autograph of the Caroline Te Deum which Handel performed several times. This autograph contains features which we would expect to find in a conducting score: successive casts of singers entered in Handel's hand, a later movement inserted by a copyist on paper



which matches the format of the original autograph, and pencilled instructions to the copyist of the orchestral parts.

The suggestion that the autographs of the English church music also served as performance scores is supported by the general absence of identifiable conducting scores of the Chapel Royal music. There is only one undoubted surviving conducting score, for the Wedding Anthem This is the Day, but this is a special case: the anthem was mainly arranged from music derived from Athalia and the arrangement was done by Handel on the conducting score while it was being copied from the oratorio sources. One secondary copy of a piece of Handel's Chapel Royal music from the period 1710-1727 contains additions in the composer's hand. This, a score of Anthem 6B, may have been copied as a conducting score for the Chapel Royal performance.

Some of the autographs of the Chapel Royal music are dated, but most of them are not. In many cases this does not matter, since the occasion for which the music was written is sufficient to suggest a composition date. There are, however, several works from the period under review whose exact position in the chronology is difficult to establish. I have examined the paper characteristics of the autographs, and made detailed comparisons with the autographs of all of Handel's other major works composed during the period. This has proved to be a useful exercise, even when the results have been less than conclusive. Sometimes the water mark of an undated Chapel Royal autograph is of a type which occurs in Handel's works over an extended period: in some important cases the watermark is of a type which is not encountered elsewhere in Handel's autographs. Handel's preference for an upright 12-stave (or larger) format for the church music, rather than the oblong ten-stave format of the contemporary operas, often results in an arrangement of

staves which is unique in the autographs and thus precludes meaningful rastrographical comparisons.

The Utrecht Te Deum and Jubilate, the Coronation Anthems and the Funeral Anthem are the only examples of Handel's English church music which were published during the composer's lifetime. Such circulation of Handel's Chapel Royal music as took place before the 1780s was therefore by means of manuscript copies. Many of the surviving copies were prepared by efficient professional scribes, sometimes from the circle of Handel's own copyists, for great private collections. Individual copies which were not part of these collections sometimes bear evidence, such as the inclusion of the original singers' names, that they too were derived from sources very close to the original autographs. For each of the Chapel Royal works under discussion I have prepared a 'family tree' of the most important secondary sources which shows their relationship to the autograph and therefore their relative textual authority. The best copies can be useful for providing the texts of passages which are now missing in the autographs, once their authority has been established. Manuscript copies also can provide information which helps us to reconstruct the textual history of works which have undergone revision by the composer. Some secondary sources, and in particular the part-books from the Aylesford Collection, provide hints about contemporary performing practice.

#### SOURCES: (2) Documentary

Handel's association with the Chapel Royal must be traced by combining musical and documentary evidence. Transcripts of some of the relevant documents were published by O.E. Deutsch in his Documentary Biography of Handel but there is much additional unpublished material relating to Handel's performances, and relating



to the general circumstances surrounding musical performances by the Chapel Royal. Eighteenth century newspapers provide snippets of information throughout the period, though their information is sometimes inaccurate and often the newspapers pass tantalisingly quickly over the very information which now seems most important. The journalists' language of the day had its own vagaries. It is sometimes difficult to tell whether a Te Deum and an Anthem performed at the same service were by the same composer. The phrase "sung to Musick" seems generally to refer to some form of orchestral accompaniment, though not always. With all their limitations, the newspapers provide the best or the only available record of some events. Fortunately they seem to have regarded both Handel and the Chapel Royal as newsworthy elements of London life. Occasionally the information from the newspapers can be supplemented from private diaries.

No texts of Handel's anthems appeared in the newspapers before November 1733, though the texts of most of his new anthems were printed thereafter. Printed texts of Handel's English church music are more plentiful after 1727 than before. Anthem texts were printed in the 1727 Coronation service programme, an official broadside was published in 1737 giving the text of the Funeral Anthem, and anthem texts appear in the appropriate oratorio word books from 1732 onwards. The only comparable source from the earlier period is a published liturgy for the Utrecht Thanksgiving service, which includes references to the canticles without printing the texts. One Handel anthem was represented in the printed collections of anthem words "as the same are now performed in his Majesty's Chapels Royal" during the composer's lifetime. These anthem word-books provide useful evidence of the routine, non-Handelian repertoire of the Chapel; information on the same subject, and on the perform-

ance practice of the Chapel, can also be gained from the surviving Chapel Royal music part-books now in the British Library. There is some valuable iconographic material relating to Chapel Royal performances, including the only known general view of one of Handel's own performances.

Institutional records of the Chapel Royal during the first half of the eighteenth century are rewardingly rich. The two Cheque-Books provide insights into the day-to-day workings of the Chapel and an outline biographical record of the singers, in conjunction with parallel sources for the choirs of Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's Cathedral. Used critically, the lists in Chamberlayne's Magna Britanniae Notitia are a valuable supplement to this material. The papers of the Lord Chamberlain's Department of the Royal Household, now at the Public Record Office, include some important unpublished documents. Some of these refer directly to Handel's Chapel Royal performances from 1722 onwards, and many more illuminate the administration of the Chapel both in its routine life and in its courtly exertions for special occasions. Many documents from the Lord Chamberlain's papers were transcribed in Lafontaine's magnificent collection The King's Musick, published seventy years ago, but Lafontaine took 1700 as his terminal date and no comparable collection devoted to the succeeding period has yet been published. The King's Musick appears to be chronologically unbalanced because more than half of the volume relates to the years 1660-1700. This arises partly because government records survive more completely from the Restoration onwards than from the period before the Civil War, but it also reflects the everincreasing activity during the later part of the seventeenth century of a growing civil service, with a penchant for multiplying the paperwork. This activity did not stop at the year 1700 and the documents for the years 1700-1760



are at least as copious as those represented in the second half of The King's Musick, although there are some tantalising gaps both in content and survival.

When Lafontaine chose the time-span of The King's Musick, he must have been aware that the second half of his volume provided valuable material for biographical work on Henry Purcell. Purcell grew up among the musical traditions of the Chapel Royal, and the Chapel Royal background is essential to an understanding of his early musical development. The history of the Chapel Royal during Purcell's lifetime has been related frequently, nearly always from the standpoint required by Purcell biography. Handel arrived in London fifteen years after Purcell's death. A description of Handel's association with the Chapel Royal must begin by re-assessing the history of the Chapel during the period before his arrival with a different perspective. This period cannot be understood in isolation: broader reference must first be made to the Chapel's position at the centre of English religious and political culture.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE CHAPEL ROYAL BEFORE HANDEL'S ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND

	page
The early history of the Chapel Royal	17
The Chapel Royal Symphony Anthem, 1660-1694 - Rise and eclipse	19
Special liturgies for national occasions; the origins and influence of Purcell's D major Canticle settings	25
Queen Anne's Reign ; Removal of the Chapel Royal to St. James's Palace; the Thanksgiving Services	32
Change of venue for the Royal Thanksgivings; Music for the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy	37
(Table 1 p. 43)	



1 I am indebted to Colin S. Scull, the present Serjeant of the Vestry of Her Majesty's Chapels Royal, for allowing me to check the facts and dates of this summary with the results of his own researches (Scull: List).

The title "Chapel Royal" will be used, as it was in Handel's day, with two meanings:

- (1) To denote the personnel of the monarch's principal Chapel establishment, as distinct from the lesser establishments of the French, Dutch and Lutheran Chapels Royal.
- (2) To denote the building at St. James's Palace known during the eighteenth century as "the Chapel Royal". See the Supplement, Conditions of Performance.

The two meanings are readily distinguishable by context. The other chapels within Royal Palaces will either be referred to by name or as "Royal Chapels".

2 le Huray: Reformation, p. 9-11.

## THE CHAPEL ROYAL BEFORE HANDEL'S ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND

### The early history of the Chapel Royal

The English Chapel Royal or household chapel began in Anglo-Saxon times as a body of priests and servants who ministered to the spiritual needs of the sovereign and travelled with the court. The first evidence for the office of Dean as head of the Chapel appears about 1350 and after 1483 the Dean is assisted by a Sub-dean. From 1603 the Dean was regularly selected from the ranks of the Bishops and, even though the Chapel had by that date become less nomadic than in mediaeval times and bishops were not inevitably tied to their diocesan seats, the divided duties of the Dean inevitably resulted in the gradual shifting of responsibility for the routine running of the Chapel on to the Sub-dean. From the mid-thirteenth century at least, the Chapel employed professional singers and these were gradually formed into a recognisable musical establishment. The earliest formal appointment of a Master of the Children dates from 1444: from that time we can be sure of the existence of a permanent institution consisting of Children and Clerks, some of them singers and some in priests' orders, who from 1483 were called Gentlemen.<sup>1</sup>

It was at the time of the English Reformation that this institution became critical to the course of church history in both liturgical and musical matters. New vernacular liturgical experiments centred round the Chapel Royal, whose practice was regarded by 1548 as the approved reformed model.<sup>2</sup> Lord Protector Somerset's command to the University of Cambridge was specific:

... that you and every of you in your colleges, chapels or other churches use one uniform order, rite and ceremonies in the mass, matins and even-song and all divine service in the same to be said or sung, such as is presently used in the



- 3 Previous official activity had been concerned with the provision and use of an English Bible (Royal Injunctions 1536 & 1543) rather than with liturgies.
- 4 Prayer Books: Edward VI, p.361-7

king's majesty's chapel, and none other.

There is no doubt that the new services were tested first at the Chapel Royal and the eventual Prayer Books still reflect something of this, for in spite of the rubrics provided to make the Books into practical parish manuals the liturgies themselves, expressed in the language of cultivated sixteenth century gentlemen, have a serious, rather formal, character ideally suited to the religious ceremonial of the court.

The origins and development of these liturgies at court affected the content of the eventual Prayer Book as well as the style. It is significant that the first official English liturgy was the Litany of 1544, generated at a critical stage during the war with France. It was the need for prayers at a time of national crisis which led to the publication of this first complete vernacular liturgy.<sup>3</sup> Some idea of its content can be gained from the Litany published in the 1552 Prayer Book.<sup>4</sup> The occasional prayers at the end of this service, and the prayers for the King in the 1549 communion service, are texts specifically concerned with the nation's well-being, created by clergy who worked close to the court. The Chapel Royal was henceforth at the centre of a national church where religion and politics were intertwined, and the religious as well as institutional life of the Chapel came to reflect this.

Although theological controversy inevitably centred around the interpretation of the mass found in the prayer books, the distinctive flavour of the new Anglicanism which the Chapel represented is not to be found in the Communion Service but in other liturgies. Although Henry VIII destroyed the monasteries he also set in train the process by which Cranmer provided daily services of Matins and Evensong based on the monastic hours. Here the Reformers' natural emphasis on the Word could take on a characteristic English form,



- 5 Handel's relationship to the religious/political of the Church of England is analysed by Paul Henry Lang in Handel and Civilisation. Some comments and criticisms of his analysis are offered in Appendix 2.

and eventually the musical centre of gravity turned away from musical settings of the Mass towards the provision of anthems (musical illumination of the Word) and settings of the prescribed canticles for Matins and Evensong. It was in <sup>Morning and</sup> Evening Prayer, not in the Communion Service, that the 1662 Prayer Book made official recognition of the Anthem. In 1662 the prayers and thanksgivings for special occasions were detached from the Litany so that they could also be used regularly in the course of Matins and Evensong.<sup>5</sup>

#### The Chapel Royal Symphony Anthem 1660-1694 - Rise and Eclipse

If the liturgical reforms begun in the Chapel at the Reformation became the pattern for the nation, the same cannot be said of the musical innovations at the Chapel a century later, following the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660. There is no evidence to suggest that the new "Symphony Anthems" with instrumental ritornellos were performed anywhere other than by the Chapel Royal during the first twenty years of their development, and the type of vocal writing cultivated in them was intimately related to the particular musical strengths of the solo singers from the Chapel. The Symphony Anthem was therefore a specifically Chapel Royal tradition. Its progress during the period 1660-1700 as a whole was rather erratic, and the key factor seems to have been the degree of interest which successive monarchs showed in the music of the Chapel from reign to reign.

Whether or not the introduction of string instruments into the anthems was at King Charles II's instigation in the first place, it seems to have met with his approval. The formation of the 24 Musicians under the Master of the King's Musick, which ensured the availability of the string players, must similarly have received royal encouragement. The Chapel Royal and the Musicians



- 6 The strings were used for the anthem at 3.30  
Evening Prayers except during Lent. "On Weekdayes  
i.e. on Wednesdays and Fridays the King being at  
Sermon are sung two Anthems one after the Litany,  
the other after the Sermon" - presumably without  
strings. Alford: Notebook (Ms), p.15, dated 16-10-1675
- 7 See Appendix 3
- 8 Lewis: NOHM, p.494-5
- 9 See Purcell's preface to Sonnata's of III Parts  
(1683)
- 10 Arkwright: Purcell, which forms the basis for the  
Table of Anthems with dates in Purcell Society Vol.  
XIIIa: see also Zimmerman: Purcell Analytical  
Catalogue and Grove work-lists sub 'Purcell'.
- 11 The early history of the Court Odes is related  
in detail in McGuinness: Court Odes

were useful vehicles for the public display of kingship and conspicuous private ownership, but there is no reason to doubt that the King's interest in the music of the Chapel Royal was genuine. Symphony Anthems seem to have been performed only when the King went to the Chapel: the surviving repertoire is not large enough to have supported regular weekly performances. The new tradition complemented the existing repertoire of full anthems and verse anthems:<sup>6</sup> the 1712 anthem word-book, Divine Harmony, reveals that works by Tallis, Mundy, Byrd, Hooper, Batten and Orlando Gibbons were still in the repertoire.<sup>7</sup>

The King's tastes and the composers' proclivities combined in approving the infusion of the English Verse Anthem with the French style in the period immediately following the Restoration,<sup>8</sup> though the "French" element in the works of Cooke, Locke and Pelham Humfrey is more apparent in the instrumental than in the vocal writing. By the time Henry Purcell became Organist of the Chapel Royal in 1682 the French influence was giving way to a new Italian one<sup>9</sup> and, although it is difficult to isolate specific stylistic changes, this new influence may account for the more solid impression which Purcell's symphony anthems create when compared with the works of the older composers among whom he had grown up in the Chapel. The bulk of Purcell's symphony anthems were composed between 1682 and 1688,<sup>10</sup> after the form had already seen twenty years of successful life in the Chapel.

The co-operation of the Chapel Royal and the King's Musicians which the performance of symphony anthems entailed was also nourished by the performance of secular court odes for the new year and royal birthdays.<sup>11</sup> The musicians must have grown used to working together and a cohesive unit of professional musicians seems gradually to have emerged. In 1683 the practical traditions



12 Grove, sub 'Cecilian Festivals'

Husk: St. Cecilia, p.10-15

13 le Huray: Locke(Mu),. Preface

built up in Court and Chapel moved into the wider circle of London's musical life with the inauguration of the Musical Society for the celebration of St. Cecilia's day.<sup>12</sup> The court musicians formed the core of the performers for these events, and it is clear from the lists of stewards that the performers themselves provided part of the management which ensured the success of the Musical Society. At the same time, there was evidently a growing public of connoisseurs to whom the court ensemble and its style appealed. The publication of Purcell's first set of trio sonatas the same year as the formation of the Society is another pointer to the existence of the same audience, well disposed to the Organist of His Majesty's Chapel Royal. The theatre occasionally absorbed individual talents from the court musicians, but it was the St. Cecilia performances which provided the public platform for the Chapel Royal and the King's Musicians as a group. The edifying treatment of the subject of music in the St. Cecilia odes was in any case not too far removed from the spirit of the Chapel.

Uncertainties about the future may have given a special impetus to the court musicians in November 1683. The King was growing old and the Chapel Royal must have doubted the support which could be expected from his successor. Events confirmed the Chapel's fears. Although the 1685 Coronation proved to be a musical feast, the new King's Roman Catholicism kept him away from the Chapel Royal. Yet the period following James II's withdrawal from the active life of the Chapel provides the most telling demonstration that the Chapel had evolved a strong and self-supporting tradition. Twenty years previously the formation of a rival royal Roman Catholic Chapel with its own musical establishment had proved to be a dangerously popular alternative to the Chapel Royal, especially when Matthew Locke's energies were diverted to its service.<sup>13</sup> In 1685 history

- 14 The only orchestrally-accompanied anthem from the first part of James II's reign known to me is William Turner's Preserve me O God, dated 24-8-1686 in the 'Gostling' MS (See Zimmerman: Gostling)
- 15 Lafontaine: The King's Musick, p.384-5
- 16 ibid, p.386
- 17 Anne had married the protestant Prince George of Denmark in 1683
- 18 Lafontaine, p.383
- 19 See Zimmerman: Gostling. The anthem, composed for the Thanksgiving in January, 1687/8, may have been repeated at the Thanksgiving for the Queen's safe delivery on 17-6-1688 (Order of service in Ob Ashmole. G.12).

- 20 Alford: Notebook (Ms), p.21. The same regulations also specify the parts of the service which were to be sung.



did not repeat itself. There was an initial period of uncertainty but by mid-1687 the Chapel was again going about its usual business with confidence.<sup>14</sup> The King created a separate musical establishment for his personal service,<sup>15</sup> no members of which were drawn from the ranks of the Chapel Royal: Princess Anne of Denmark evidently took the King's place in the Chapel Royal, which is even referred to as "the Princess's Chappell".<sup>16</sup> Anne's presence seemed to guarantee a safe Anglican future,<sup>17</sup> and she seems to have taken an active interest in the Chapel, maintaining its musical traditions and insisting that the 'violins' were in attendance when she was present.<sup>18</sup> In 1687-8 Purcell produced as many symphony anthems per year as he had done in the peak period of 1682-5, one of the finest (Blessed are they that fear the Lord), paradoxically, for the Thanksgiving for the Queen's pregnancy,<sup>19</sup> the event which constituted the greatest threat to the future of the Chapel as an Anglican institution. The Chapel Royal survived the English Revolution and arrived at the 1689 coronation intact though somewhat depleted in numbers, presumably because vacancies had not been filled. King William III restored Henry Compton to his place as Dean of the Chapel, from which he had been removed by James II, and appointed a new Sub-dean, Ralph Battel, to replace the ageing William Holder. The Chapel no doubt prepared for business as usual.

In the event, King William's Calvinism succeeded in doing what James's Romanism had not done, for the string players ceased to attend the Chapel and Purcell's few late anthems are accompanied by organ only. The King's orders, relayed through the Dean of the Chapel on 23 February 1688/9 were specific:

That there shall be no musick (i.e. instruments) in the Chappell, but the Organ.<sup>20</sup>

Purcell's increased attention to the theatre in his last years

- 21 Husk: St. Cecilia, p.12, 32
- 22 Battell: Church-Musick. In addition to being the first known sermon connected with the Cecilian Festivals, this must also be seen as the first in a sequence of sermons in defence of church music which goes well into the eighteenth century and includes those preached at the early meetings of the Three Choirs Festival. The subject of music in church had, of course, been raised as a theological issue at the Reformation.
- 23 ibid, p.11
- 24 Estwick: Church-Musick. Although the sermon was "Preach'd at Christ-Church" (presumably Christ Church, Oxford) it is clearly connected with the London services and was published in London. The dedication to the "Stewards of St. Caecelia's Feast" is to the London Society: the Stewards named include Moses Snow, a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, and Matteis, the composer of the 1696 London ode. (see also Husk: St. Cecilia, p.37).
- 25 ~~Estwick retained a Chaplaincy at Christ Church until 1711, simultaneously with the Minor Canonry at St. Paul's (where he had been a Chorister in his youth) (See entry P3 of the lists in Appendix ). His participation in the musical life of Oxford, his~~

is in part the result of the diminishing demands of the Chapel tradition in which he had been brought up. He had only limited opportunities for composing music for the Court musicians outside the context of the Chapel. Since he never held office as Master of the King's Music, Purcell was not called upon to compose the music for the odes for the New Year or the King's birthday, though the Queen's birthday Ode was his task, and his Ode for the young Duke of Gloucester's birthday suggests that he received continued support from Princess Anne. It may well be that other musicians of the Chapel looked to the female members of the Royal family for support: circumstantial evidence certainly indicates that they could expect little from the King. A pattern similar to that of 1685-7 can be discerned. The Chapel Royal presumably began the reign waiting for the uncertainties around them to sort themselves out, but after a few years the Chapel traditions began to re-assert themselves. In 1687 the re-assertion was institutional, because the danger was from a rival church: in 1693-4 the re-assertion was primarily theological.

In 1693 the Musical Society decided to introduce a sermon as well as an ode on St. Cecilia's day.<sup>21</sup> This sermon, preached by no less a person than the Sub-Dean of the Chapel Royal himself, is a spirited defence of church music.<sup>22</sup> Its tone suggests that a detailed theological rationale for church music was required as ammunition by the musicians of the day. It may well be that King William's austere tastes in the Chapel had become irksome to the musicians and although it would have been tactless for someone holding a court position to make a direct attack on current practices, Battel did venture to attack the Geneva Bible's commentary on the use of instruments in church.<sup>23</sup> Another sermon, preached at the St. Cecilia festival in 1696 by Sampson Estwick,<sup>24</sup> is



25 Estwick retained a Chaplaincy at Christ Church until 1711; simultaneously with the Minor Canonry at St. Paul's (where he had been a Chorister in his youth) (See entry P3 of the lists in Appendix 5.). His participation in the musical life of Oxford, his presence among the founders of the Academy of Vocal Music and the description of his musical participation in services at St. Paul's until old age all point to an enthusiastic musician. See Crum: Oxford, Burrows: Dolben, Burrows: Oxford, Bumpus: History p.189-191, and Arkwright: Oxford p.38

26 p.20

27 p.21

rather more explicit in suggesting that the musical traditions of English Church music were under attack. Estwick, though he was more associated with Oxford than London in earlier years, had been a Minor Canon at St. Paul's Cathedral since 1691 and can be reasonably taken as a representative of the attitudes of the London church musicians.<sup>25</sup> The more controversial part of his sermon suggests that church music needed defending both against Roman Catholicism and the Dissenters. If, as he argues, church music contributes to spiritual improvement, then this:

"gives us just occasion to blame the Practice of the Church of Rome; which has fram'd and contriv'd her Praises more to the Honour of Men than of God; and not only so, but she has lock'd up the few sound Pieces of Devotion remaining in their Breviary, in a Language not understood by the generality of their People."<sup>26</sup>

Having suggested that the Church of Rome had abused church music, Estwick then attacked the Dissenters for condemning the music as well as the abuse:

"If the Use and Practice of Church-Musick is of such long standing in the House of God, and Voices and Instruments were appointed by God himself, to promote the Edification of his People, this shews us the unjust Exceptions the Dissenters takes (sic) against our Way of Worship, making it to be Popish and Superstitious, and what not; not considering in the meantime, that those excellent Offices of Praise, I mean our Hymns were practiced long before Popery was in being; and as to the manner of adorning 'em with good Musick; this I presume is no fault, however I could wish for the good of their Souls, that they would come to our Churches, and try whether it is a fault or not."<sup>27</sup>

28 Luttrell: Relation, v p.442;

Boyer: Anne (Annals), vol.v, p.140



A substantial part of Battel's 1693 sermon is taken up with a defence of the use of orchestral instruments in church, the major feature of Chapel Royal practice which had suffered under King William III. It is very likely that an attempt was made to return to orchestrally-accompanied music in the Chapel the following year. From the 1693 sermon we know that the Sub-Dean, who was the person most closely concerned with day-to-day policy in the Chapel would have been in favour of this, but some exceptional circumstance was needed to excuse the re-introduction of the orchestra for a special occasion. Such a special occasion did present itself in 1694, but to explain the background to the events in the Chapel Royal it is necessary to return to the matter of special liturgies.

Special Liturgies for national occasions; the origin and influence of Purcell's D major Canticle settings

As outlined above, the Prayer Book included prayers appropriate to various national needs. However, not many years had elapsed after the introduction of the Prayer Book before it was felt that great national events called for something more. Additional liturgies were published by Command of the Monarch in Council for use in all churches on specific days. They were prepared under the guidance of the Archbishop of Canterbury, or leading prelates acting with his approval.<sup>28</sup> The occasional liturgies fall into four categories:

(1) Single occasional prayers. These were merely additions to the normal Prayer book liturgies, or amendments to specific prayers (for example, the prayer for the royal family). They did not provide a completely new liturgy and can for present purposes be ignored.

(2) Annual liturgies. These were normally re-issued in a

- 29 A Prayer and Thanksgiving fit for this present  
and to be used in the Time of Common Prayer (1587)

Copy in Lambeth Palace Library.

revised form from reign to reign and were sometimes printed in contemporary prayer books. They formed a regular part of the year's calendar of services. By 1690 the annual liturgies were four in number:

Sovereign's Accession (Thanksgiving)

Execution of King Charles I (30 January) (Fast)

Restoration Anniversary (29 May) (Thanksgiving)

Deliverance from Gunpowder Plot (5 November) (Thanksgiving)

(3) Special occasions - Fasts. Complete Liturgy.

(4) Special occasions - Thanksgivings. Complete Liturgy.

(2), (3) and (4) were issued in booklet form: the earliest examples I have found come from the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, the first Thanksgiving dating from 1587 and presumably celebrating Drake's attack on Cadiz.<sup>29</sup> All of the booklets include a special liturgy for Morning Prayer, and most of them also include versions of Evening Prayer, the Litany and/or the Communion Service. By 1690 the revisions to Morning and Evening Prayer for the occasional liturgies followed a traditional pattern. The parts of the service which might have been relevant to musical settings were as follows:

(a) The opening sentences. Usually short verses of scripture. I have found no evidence that they were set to music and used as introits.

(b) Instead of the Venite, a selection of Biblical texts appropriate to the occasion was provided, often running to considerable length. Many liturgies published before 1700 include a rubric that the verses were to be said by the Clerk and People alternately: this was reinforced by printing alternate verses in light and heavy type, and the typography was preserved long after the rubric was dropped.



30 . Divine Harmony, p.26, 34-5

The selection of verses was ingenious: inevitably many verses were placed together out of context, but the selectors often had a fine sense of fitness to the occasion and of dramatic effect. There are few, if any, examples of anthems derived from these collations of texts but their existence must have influenced the texts of some thanksgiving anthems, which are often selected with similar imaginative eclecticism (e.g. Croft's O Praise the Lord, ye that fear him, or the Blow/Clarke/Croft anthem Behold how good and joyful).<sup>30</sup>

(c) Canticles. These were in general the normal Prayer Book service ones - Te Deum and Jubilate (sometimes Cantate Domino or Benedictus instead of Jubilate at Thanksgivings or Fasts respectively) at Morning Prayer, and Magnificat and Deus Miseratur at Evening Prayer.

(d) Specified Psalms. Two or three were chosen as appropriate for each service. The choice was varied from one occasion to another.

(e) Anthems. Neither anthem texts nor rubrics for the inclusion of anthems appear in any liturgy.

The liturgies in classes (2), (3) and (4) above were commanded to be celebrated throughout the country: no doubt some were performed with more enthusiasm than others in the nation's parishes, but in London the days were generally kept with due ceremony and on the days in class (2) it was normal for the national estates to celebrate publically in an appropriate location - the King at the Chapel Royal, the House of Lords at Westminster Abbey and the House of Commons at St. Margaret's, Westminster. For the Chapel Royal each special service was a court event. The annual Thanksgivings became part of the Court calendar and the special Thanksgivings could be occasions for the performance of special music.

- 31 See Clark: Stuarts, p.162-174
- 32 Only a month before Purcell's Te Deum was composed it was reported from Vienna that "Te Deum has been sung in our cathedral for the victory obtained over the Turks and Tartars" (Luttrell: Relation, vol. iii, p.397)
- 33 Prunieres: Lully Te Deum (Mu), Preface. It is interesting that Battell's 1693 sermon, which Purcell probably heard, included within the same sentence (p.9) reference to Ambrose's Te Deum text and to his introduction of musical instruments into the services at Milan cathedral.
- 34 Boyer: William, vol. ii, p. 397



The annual military campaigns during the reign of William III generated additional special liturgies: in most years there was a fast in the spring as the campaign began, asking for "Pardon of Sins, the Preservation of the King's Sacred Person and the Prosperity of his Arms," and in the late autumn there was the appropriate Thanksgiving for the "Preservation of his Majesty's Person, together with his Safe and Happy return to the Kingdom" and any victories which could be celebrated. The campaigns of 1690 and 1691 were in Ireland, which from the King's point of view were successful in "reducing" that country so that he could turn his attention to the continent. The 1692 Thanksgiving included mention of a victory by the fleet, but generally there was very little military success to celebrate in the first two continental campaigns, and it was not until 1694 that the King returned with anything that could be regarded as significant progress.<sup>31</sup>

It was to this mood of tempered optimism late in 1694 that Purcell composed his D major settings of the morning canticles. As is well known, these were first performed on St. Cecilia's Day, 1694, but it seems a likely supposition that originally Purcell had his sights on a court performance on the Thanksgiving Day. The Te Deum text was widely recognised throughout Europe as the ideal canticle for national rejoicing, whether occasioned by military or diplomatic success or the birth of an heir to the throne.<sup>32</sup> Purcell may also have been influenced by the reputation of Lully's orchestrally-accompanied Te Deum, which gained its composer some favour with the French King when it was performed at a royal birthday and a royal wedding in 1677 and 1679 respectively.<sup>33</sup> We do not know where the composition of Purcell's Te Deum fits into the exact chronology of events. The King arrived back in London on November 9<sup>34</sup> and two days later Purcell completed the

35 See Zimmerman: Gostling and Arkwright: Purcell

36 Luttrell: Relation, vol.iii, p.402.

Order of service (A Form of Prayer and  
Thanksgiving For the Preservation of His  
Majesty ...) Ob - G.Pamph. 1521 (25)

37 Luttrell, vol.iii, p.410

anthem The Way of God is an undefiled way<sup>35</sup> to celebrate his return: as far as we know this anthem never had an orchestral accompaniment, though it is in the correct key to go with the D major Te Deum and there are imitations of typical trumpet-and-drum writing. (See Ex. 1) On November 21 a proclamation named

## Ex. 1

[Purcell Soc. XXXII, p. 59-60]

25

Voice

It is God, it is God that giveth

B.C.

29

me with strength of war, and maketh my way perfect

7 #6

Sunday December 2 as the Thanksgiving Day: the order of service for that day was issued under the imprimatur of the Archbishop of Canterbury on November 16.<sup>36</sup> On November 22 Purcell's Te Deum and Jubilate received its first performance, at the second annual church service connected with the English Cecilian celebrations. This performance produced a change of emphasis in the celebrations by applying the performing resources to church music rather than the ode. The significance of the event may have been more far-reaching still: it is likely that the Chapel Royal and the Royal Musicians saw the St. Cecilia service in the light of a public rehearsal for a forthcoming court event. The Te Deum and Jubilate were not, in fact, performed at the Chapel Royal on the Thanksgiving Day but a week later:

Tuesday 11 December 1694. Sunday last was performed before their majesties in the chappel royal the same vocal and instrumental musick as was performed at St. Bride's Church on St. Cecilia's day last.<sup>37</sup>



38 Purcell had used trumpets previously in the orchestra for his odes for Queen Mary's birthday since 1690.

39

39 There are no drum parts to Lully's Te Deum, but reports of the 1677 and 1679 performances mention the use of drums ("Les tymbales et les Trompètes n'y furent point oubliées" - Prunières, loc.cit, Preface.) The possibility of improvised drum participation in the English works is dealt with in the Supplement Conditions of Performance.

40 The latter feature of Lully's setting was favourably commented on by Le Mercure Galant: "Ce qu'on y admira particulièrement, c'est que chaque couplet estoit de différente musique" (Prunières, Preface)

This appears to have been the only occasion on which King William III heard orchestrally-accompanied church music in his Chapel Royal.

Unfortunately the deaths of Queen Mary and Henry Purcell within the next twelve months prevented the impetus of this event from being followed up within the Chapel. The influence of Purcell's canticle settings on his contemporaries, however, was marked and long-lasting. It was the first English church music to combine the King's Trumpeters (or the two best soloists from them) with the strings.<sup>38</sup> In this scoring Purcell followed Lully's model, for Lully's *Te Deum* is also for two trumpets and strings, though Lully's full string orchestra has his normal five-part texture as against Purcell's four-part one.<sup>39</sup> There is no evidence that Purcell had access to a copy of Lully's score, but this is not impossible, and superficially there is some resemblance between the scoring and the sectional treatment of the two settings.<sup>40</sup> There the resemblance ends, however, for Purcell's 1694 music is a far cry from Lully's grandiloquent style of 1677 and the thrust of Purcell's harmonic rhythms reveals the more recent Italian influences on the English composer. Purcell's time-scale is less expansive than Lully's: inevitably, since the *Te Deum* text is composed of a large number of short verses, this means that some of Purcell's musical sections are rather short and are almost over before their import has begun to make its effect. In some places in the text he clearly attempted to overcome this problem by combining verses as well as by making some sections flow into the following ones.

Purcell's 1694 music proved to be a stimulant to his successors after his death. In 1695 and 1696 John Blow and William Turner produced canticle settings for the St. Cecilia festival

41 They were composed too late to have been  
intended for the important Thanksgiving service  
of 1696 (Deliverance from a Plot against the  
King's life). The anthems survive in a copy at  
Mp, Flower Collection MS 130 Hd4 v.235. John  
Blow and other Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal  
went to Cambridge to assist in the performance  
of Turner's doctoral exercise (FP 2-7-1696)

42 Luttrell, Relation, vol.vi, p.307

43 ibid, p.313

44 Compleat List (1733), sub 1698.

45 Autograph at Lsp, Case B.13

46 Weedon: Oration



services which were obviously closely modelled on Purcell's. More important, however, was the general effect on morale. Blow and Turner returned to the composition of instrumentally-accompanied anthems for special occasions and even perhaps sought occasions for which they could compose them. Turner produced two anthems in June 1696, probably in connection with the Commencement at Cambridge at which he received his doctorate.<sup>41</sup> In 1697 the King's continental campaigns came to an end with the Peace of Ryswick; the thanksgiving service for this event coincided with the opening of the completed choir of the new St. Paul's Cathedral and it was believed that the King would attend the service there:

20. November (1697). His majestie intends on the thanksgiving day to goe to St. Paul's Cathedral, where the doctors of musick, singing men, &c., are to perform all the ceremonies.<sup>42</sup>

The Lord Mayor of London and the Aldermen went to St. Paul's and Blow's symphony anthem I was glad was performed, but the King went to the Chapel Royal at Whitehall instead.<sup>43</sup> In 1698 Blow was one of the Stewards of the Annual Festival of the Sons of the Clergy<sup>44</sup> and it was probably for that occasion that he wrote his anthem Blessed is the man that feareth the Lord.<sup>45</sup> For both of these large scale anthems Blow used an orchestra consisting of trumpets and strings, Purcell's 1694 scoring and a combination which was almost becoming a tradition in itself. There is a gap in the production of instrumentally-accompanied anthems until 1701/2, when Blow provided an anthem with string accompaniment for the edifying and charitable musical performances of Cavendish Weedon. The preface to the programme for this performance,<sup>46</sup> like the St. Cecilia sermons, argues in defence of music in church "by which the Minds of the People are sweetly surpriz'd into Pious Ardour, and Charm'd into Devotion by Delight", though it makes no mention of the wholesomeness of instrumental participation.

47 Lafontaine: The King's Musick, p.434

48 This never came to fruition.

49 Blow: Amphion Anglius, The Dedication, p.5

50 See Appendix 6 sub "Elford"

51 Kenyon: Stuarts, p.168; Luttrell: Relation  
vol.iii, p.351 and vol.iv, p.126

52 Luttrell vol.iii, p.437 and vol.iv, p.125

Queen Anne's reign - Removal of the Chapel Royal to St. James's Palace; the Thanksgiving services.

After the death of Queen Mary such musical encouragement as there was at court must have come, as in 1685-9, from Princess Anne, who had her own musicians by 1699<sup>47</sup> and to whom Blow dedicated Amphion Anglius in 1700. His dedicatory preface mentions his intention to publish a volume of his church music,<sup>48</sup> and a surprisingly large part of the preface is taken up with a defence of church music: evidently even the preface to a volume of secular music was considered a suitable platform for putting forward the view that "nothing but the perverse sowness of a Fanatick, would ever drive Divine Musick out of the Church".<sup>49</sup> Anne is also known to have exerted some patronage on behalf of Richard Elford before he obtained his place at the Chapel Royal.<sup>50</sup> Her influence in the earlier part of William III's reign was small because she had moved away from the court with her husband after a disagreement with the Queen, her elder sister, but this was made up after Mary's death and in November 1695 the King invited Prince George and Princess Anne to take up residence at St. James's Palace, which they did the next year.<sup>51</sup> This event set the stage for the revolution which came over the routine life of the Chapel Royal early in Queen Anne's reign, when its main centre of operations removed from Whitehall to St. James's.

Both St. James's and Whitehall had Royal Chapels during William III's reign and William had used the chapel at St. James's for the period between his wife's death and burial.<sup>52</sup> There is no doubt, however, that this was an exceptional arrangement and that the major court chapel, at which the Chapel Choir was resident when the court was in London, was at Whitehall. On the night of 4-5 January 1697/8 this Chapel was burned down in the fire



53 Luttrell vol.iv, p.328-9, 363

54 BL Add.Ms. 31444, f.101

55 P.R.O. LC5/153, p.238

56 Luttrell, vol.v, p.159 (4-4-1702)

57 *ibid*, p.350. The Queen spent most of 1703 at Bath and Windsor. The transference of the Chapel Royal was part of the preparations for her return to St. James's Palace at the end of October 1703.

which consumed most of the Palace. Orders were given almost immediately for fitting up the Banqueting House as a Chapel, but in the mean time that at St. James's was put in use, though the King mainly lived at Kensington.<sup>53</sup> The new Whitehall Chapel was re-opened on 9 December 1698 with a new anthem by Blow, Lord, remember David (without orchestral accompaniment) to celebrate the occasion<sup>54</sup> and the Choir moved back: the list of the members of the Chapel Royal establishment at Queen Anne's coronation (23 April 1702) describes them as "Her Majesty's Chapel at Whitehall".<sup>55</sup> However, having settled in to St. James's as Princess, Anne quickly made up her mind to remain there as Queen and it seemed sensible to move the Chapel from Whitehall. Accordingly it was reported that

"the Queen intends to convert the banquetting house at Whitehall again into a room of state to receive Ambassadors, Ec., and enlarge her chappel at St. James's, turning it into the form of a cathedrall."<sup>56</sup>

The Whitehall Chapel was not dismantled, but the choir moved:

Tuesday 19. October (1703) The Bishop of Rochester has, by her majesties order, declar'd St. James's Chappel to be the Chappel Royal; and all the singing men and boys belonging to that of Whitehall are to remove to St. James's."<sup>57</sup>

If the Chapel Royal musicians had expected a return to symphony anthems in the new reign they were disappointed. Queen Anne did not change the routine of the Chapel much, though she appears to have made the choir up to strength again. There had been some depletions in preceding years caused, once again, by a reluctance to fill vacancies. In one respect, however, Anne did extend the public range of the court's religious ceremonies by doing precisely what her predecessor had not done in 1697: she attended services

58 Royal weddings were solemnized in the more confined spaces of a Royal Chapel.

59 Only the Thanksgivings were celebrated together by the Estates at St. Paul's. On Fast days the Queen went to the Chapel Royal.

\* Table 1 is placed at the end of this Chapter (p. 43).

✓ 60 Luttrell, vol.v, p.232. Also Boyer: Anne p.35: "For the greater Solemnity on that Day, her Majesty would be pleased to go to St. Paul's Church, as had been accustomed in former Times in this Kingdom."

✓ 61 Williams: Elizabeth, p.80

✓ 62 Sheppard: Memorials, vol.i, p.232-3.

The procession to St. Paul's usually left St. James's Palace at 11 a.m.



on the special Thanksgiving days at St. Paul's Cathedral rather than in her own private Chapel. This put the Chapel Royal choir before a large metropolitan congregation in a way that had previously only been known at Coronations and, to a lesser extent, royal funerals.<sup>58</sup>

The Thanksgiving days themselves became almost annual in their frequency. The continental war had resumed, and there was a return to the pattern familiar in the 1690's - public fasts at the beginning of the campaign and public thanksgivings after the victories, which this time Marlborough produced with annual efficiency.<sup>59</sup> Table 1\* summarises the details, musical and liturgical, of the Thanksgiving services throughout Queen Anne's reign. The first Thanksgiving occurred in 1702 between the Coronation and the Choir's removal to St. James's:

(November 3) The queen hath given orders to the bishop of London to draw up a form of prayer to return God thanks next Sunday in St. Paul's church for the great victory obtained over the French at Vigo, and that she intends to be present. Thurs. Nov. 5 The queen goes to St. Paul's Cathedrall, (the like done in queen Elizabeth's reign) both houses of parliament will also be there.<sup>60</sup>

The reference to "Queen Elizabeth's reign" is presumably to Elizabeth's attendance at old St. Paul's on the Thanksgiving day in November 1588 after the defeat of the Spanish armada.<sup>61</sup> As far as I have been able to discover, Anne was the first monarch since Elizabeth to attend St. Paul's for such a service. The Houses of Parliament and the City of London accompanied Queen Anne to St. Paul's instead of having their own separate sermons. The ceremonial for the Thanksgiving services, unlike that for coronations, did not include the Chapel Royal choir in the processions.<sup>62</sup> The arrangements for the services fell into a traditional pattern,

63 Luttrell, volvi, p.122-3

and this description of the event on 31 December 1706 may be taken as typical:

"Both houses waited upon the Queen to the thanksgiving at St. Paul's; the commons in their coaches goeing first, then the judges, with the lords spiritual and temporal, in their robes; immediately before her majestie, who was attended by the first troop of guards, and a bataillion of foot; the Dutchesse of Marlborough was with the Queen in the coach, the Prince not there, being unable to endure the fatigue. The streets were lined by the train'd bands, and several companies of this city in their livery gowns, and the streets crowded with spectators.

At Temple Bar her majestie was met by the lord mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs on horseback, who conducted her to St. Paul's church, where a fine anthem was sung, and the bishop of Salisbury preacht the sermon.

After which she returned to St. James's, and at night were discharged bonfires and illuminations, and the Tower guns were thrice discharged, viz. at her majesties first setting out, at the anthem, and at her return.<sup>63</sup>

Other reports of the services make it clear that the "anthem" which was the signal for the second firing of the guns was in fact the Te Deum, and considerable significance seems to have been attached to this feature of the services. The dominance of Purcell's Te Deum in the early years is striking, especially in view of the existence of an alternative setting by Blow, the Chapel Royal composer during these years. No less remarkable is the fact that the anthems for the services do not have orchestral accompaniment. The possibility that the surviving versions of some of the anthems are transcripts in which the orchestral symphonies have been removed cannot be ruled out completely, but it seems an unlikely



64 A partial exception is Behold how good  
and joyful (jointly by Blow, Clarke  
and Croft) which begins with verses from  
one of the set psalms.

65 BL Add.MS 17847, f.5

coincidence for every one of the anthems. It is more likely that it was normal for the orchestra at the Thanksgiving services to accompany the canticles only. Trevitt's picture of the service on 31-12-1706 (See Supplement, Conditions of Performance, Plate 1) reveals that the documentary and musical sources do not tell the complete story about the Thanksgiving services: were it not for this picture, there would have been no evidence for the participation of an orchestra on this occasion. As it is, the picture reinforces the overall impression that the performance of orchestrally-accompanied canticles was a normal and valued part of the Thanksgivings.

It is perhaps surprising that the texts which the composers set as anthems for the Thanksgiving services are not usually derived directly from the material in the official orders of service.<sup>64</sup> This is true even of Croft's anthem I will give Thanks, a copy of which was endorsed by the composer:

"The words of this Anthem were chose (sic) and given me by Her most Excellent Majest. Queen Anne, and performed att St. Pauls upon a Thanksgiving Day".<sup>65</sup>

Croft's text does not appear anywhere in the published liturgy for the service with which the Anthem is associated, on 19 August 1708. The Chapel Royal's contribution to the Thanksgiving services normally seems to have been prepared as an independent addition to the basic liturgy. The Te Deum was a predictable part of the liturgies: the Jubilate presumably was not performed when the liturgies prescribed a different canticle. There is no evidence which reveals the normal place for the anthems within the services, although one was probably performed as part of the Communion service if this formed part of the prescribed liturgy. The most detailed report of the music is for the service on 27-6-1706.

66 Boyer: Anne (Annals) vol.v, p.154

67 This is proved by the publication  
of the separate sermons preached on  
these occasions before the Queen, Lords,  
Commons and the City of London.

68 Prince George's ill-health was one of  
the main reasons for Anne's visits to  
Bath in 1702 and 1703, on the first of  
which she seems to have taken Richard  
Elford as a private musician to enter-  
tain the court.

69 Boyer: Political State, vol.i, p.53



This tells us that two anthems, in addition to Purcell's Te Deum, were sung and that the service ended about 4.15 p.m. after a forty-five minute sermon.<sup>66</sup> The texts of the anthems were specified, but one of them does not tally with the music attributed to the occasion in other sources.

#### Change of venue for the Royal Thanksgivings; Music for the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy

One interesting feature of the timetable of services given in Table 1 is the Queen's withdrawal from St. Paul's after August 1708. The large public Thanksgiving services ceased abruptly and there was a return to the old system of four simultaneous services: the Monarch at St. James's Palace, the Lords at Westminster Abbey, the Commons at St. Margaret's Westminster and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen at St. Paul's.<sup>67</sup> The Chapel Royal lost an important public platform with this change and it is relevant to consider the factors which may have influenced the Queen's decision to celebrate the Thanksgivings more privately.

One important factor was the death of Anne's consort, George of Denmark, on 28 October 1708. The Prince had suffered from ill-health since the beginning of the reign<sup>68</sup> and had not been able to take an active part in public life for some time - he had not, for example, attended any of the Thanksgiving services since 1704. After his death the Queen seems to have retired more from public appearances. The court mourning for the Prince lasted until Christmas Day 1710.<sup>69</sup> Although Anne was content to go in state to a thanksgiving in 1702 with the horses still in their mourning livery for William III she may have been more sensitive about the matter when it was her own husband who was being mourned. A second factor was the Queen's own increasingly bad health. Like her

70 Boyer: Anne (Annals), vol.i, p.25  
See also Luttrell vol.v, p.166 and  
Stanley: Historical Memorials, p.80

71 For this suggestion I am indebted  
to Bruce Wood.

72 Luttrell, vol.vi, p.462

73 P.R.O. LC5/155, p.81

74 Marlborough resigned his wife's  
places in January 1710/11 and was  
dismissed from his own posts  
later in 1711.

75 Luttrell, vol.vi, p.634

husband, she had been ill more or less from the beginning of the reign: she had to be carried "in a low open chair all the way" in the coronation procession<sup>70</sup> and it is possible that Blow's revisions of the anthem The Lord God is a Sun and a Shield for the coronation service were partly designed to remove the embarrassing phrase "no good thing will he withhold from them that walk uprightly".<sup>71</sup> She had to be carried again at the Thanksgiving service in September 1704<sup>72</sup> but at other services she is reported to have walked and it seems that her gout, although present in some measure during most of her reign, had phases of remission and activity. From 1709, however, her condition seems to have become rather worse. The plans for the royal "removes" from one palace to another were first dislocated by the Queen's illness in July 1710 and from that time Dr. Arbuthnot had to be more constantly in attendance as her physician.<sup>73</sup>

The changing political situation may also have influenced the course of events. By 1708 war-weariness was becoming apparent, and at court the Duchess of Marlborough gradually lost the Queen's favour.<sup>74</sup> Behind the public face of war the Queen's ministers, with the Tories growing in strength at each successive re-shuffle, gradually moved towards arranging a peace, a shift in policy which would naturally tend to tone down the military Thanksgivings. Events during the Sacheverel riots of 1709 called the security situation in London into question and the courtly cavalcades associated with the Thanksgivings might, perhaps, have been regarded as a potential incitement to discontented parties. Anxiety about security came to the surface in connection with the service in November 1710 for which, it was rumoured, the Queen was planning to return to St. Paul's.<sup>75</sup> The carelessness of builders who had left out some of the securing screws on the roof of St. Paul's



76 Boyer: Anne, p.480

77 Boyer: Anne (Annals) vol.ix, p.253

78 Pearce: Sons of the Clergy, p.208-9

This passage is also reproduced as an appendix  
to Hamilton: 1787 Sermon.

was misinterpreted as a "screw plot" to harm the Queen and court on Thanksgiving day<sup>76</sup> and when the Queen eventually went to the Chapel Royal instead the reason was reported to be: "to avoid giving the Mob an opportunity to assemble and commit Riots".<sup>77</sup>

It is even possible that difficulties over the musical arrangements for the services played some part in Queen Anne's move away from St. Paul's. Unfortunately the relevant evidence is only available in a later source which may be true in substance though not in detail. A notebook kept by John Bacon in the late eighteenth century included the following memorandum about the services of the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy:

"Dr. Godolphin, Dean of St. Paul's, had refused letting music to be introduced into the Church when Queen Anne went in State to that Cathedral, to a public Thanksgiving for some of the Duke of Marlborough's victories; the year after that Refusal, (the Stewards) being desirous of having Music, in order to increase the Collection, applied to the Dean, who said he could not consent, as he had refused the Queen the Year before. Upon which the Archbishop, the Lord Keeper, and the Lord Mayor were appointed a Committee to wait upon the Queen for her Consent, if the Dean's should be obtained, who graciously answered, She should be very glad if it could be, as she thought it would be a great Means of drawing Company, and increasing the Fund, to which she earnestly wished success; and perhaps the Dean might be prevailed upon to be more obliging to promote a Charity for his own Cloth than he had been to her. Accordingly the Dean did give Leave, and it is said, that either Dr. Purcell, or Dr. Blow, conducted the Music, and that the Rev. Mr. Atterbury, Lecturer of St. Bride's, preached the Sermon."<sup>78</sup>

79    Nominated 23-6-1707, elected 14-7-1707



Atterbury preached the sermon at the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy service on December 6, 1709, which fits in with this chain of events. Godolphin, Dean of St. Paul's since 1707,<sup>79</sup> had presumably co-operated in the August 1708 thanksgiving service at which Purcell's *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* were performed. A critical factor in the situation might have been the death of John Blow on 1 October 1708: perhaps the Dean found it more difficult to work with the younger Chapel Royal composers. Both Blow and Jeremiah Clarke had combined appointments at St. Paul's and the Chapel Royal at various times: Richard Brind, the new St. Paul's organist did not do so and he may also have caused some friction.

Whatever the causes of the change of venue for the services, the actions of the musicians followed the same pattern as that described for the previous reigns. As the Chapel Royal returned within the walls of the court, the traditions of ceremonial music which were intimately associated with the Chapel found an outlet elsewhere. This time the outlet was at the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy rather than the Cecilian performances. The Chapel Royal singers took an active part in the Sons of the Clergy services and these services were the means by which they retained their influence on the wider musical life of London. The public connection between music and charity, later so important to the development of the Three Choirs Festivals and to Handel's association with the Foundling Hospital, became forged in these services and the practice of Church Music found another plank for its defence. Unfortunately all too little is known about the music performed at the Sons of the Clergy services in the decade following 1709 (see Appendix 4), but it is clear they took over much of the activity which had previously been devoted to the Cecilian movement and to the Thanksgiving services at St. Paul's. They

80 See Freeman/Rowntree: Smith, p.34-5, 135, 138-9  
185-6

81 Taylor: Clarke, p.13-24. None of Clark's  
church music has orchestral accompaniment.

82 Birmingham University, Barber MS 5009  
(Croft's anthem: O clap your hands together)

83 John Weldon was Croft's main associate at  
the Chapel Royal after 1708, but his output  
was smaller and less varied than Croft's.  
See The New Grove, sub 'Weldon'

also kept the performance of orchestrally-accompanied anthems and canticles before the wider London public.

The Thanksgiving services and the introduction of orchestrally-accompanied music into the Sons of the Clergy services were the two most significant developments in English church music in London during the decade preceding Handel's arrival. There were also some other important developments during the decade. Smith and Schreider built new organs for each of the Royal Chapels and these, together with the organ at St. Paul's (completed in 1697),<sup>80</sup> probably provided a new stimulus to the organists and composers. The death of John Blow in 1708 severed a link with the past and removed from the scene the most experienced English composer of orchestrally-accompanied anthems and canticles. Jeremiah Clarke's suicide the previous year is of less significance in this respect because it occurred before Clarke had the opportunity to try his hand at large-scale anthems and canticles.<sup>81</sup> Although the death of Blow marked the end of an era, the day-to-day life of the Chapel continued basically unchanged. In 1710 there were still a few men in the London choirs who would have known Henry Purcell. John Gostling was still on the roll and had sung a solo part as recently as the 1706 Thanksgiving service.<sup>82</sup> William Turner, although no longer active as a soloist and composer, still had thirty years of service in the Chapel ahead of him. Naturally, there was also a new generation of soloists and composers, William Croft becoming the chief Composer after Blow's death.<sup>83</sup>

Croft had already taken on some of the responsibility as Composer for the Chapel during Blow's final years: he had provided anthems for important services since 1704, although there had been no formal reward for his work apart from the honour which the performances bestowed. Blow's death in 1708 came just

- 84 Little is known of the history of Croft's famous Burial Service. It was published in Croft: Musica Sacra (Mu), vol.1, (1724), presumably in the version performed at the Duke of Marlborough's funeral in July 1722. The music may nevertheless have been composed much earlier.
- 85 Croft: Te Deum (Mu). Date of performance identified from Ob MS Mus.d.30. This MS, and the modern printed edition, give the later, revised, form of the Te Deum. The Jubilate associated with this Te Deum probably also dates from 1709. (See Table 1, Note 33)
- 86 Burney: History, vol.ii, p.484
- 87 See infra, Chapter 7, Table 2
- 88 See infra, Chapter 6.



before that of Prince George and it seems likely that Croft's famous setting of the funeral sentences might have been composed for the Prince's funeral, the first important public ceremony after Croft's appointment.<sup>84</sup> The first Thanksgiving service for which Croft carried the musical responsibility was also the first one after the Queen's withdrawal from St. Paul's, but nevertheless he composed a festal Te Deum with orchestral accompaniment for the occasion.<sup>85</sup> The scoring and the layout of this work are clearly in the lineage of Purcell's service, but the harmonic style reveals that Croft had moved away from Purcell's world and towards that which he was about to encounter in Handel's music.

Speaking of Croft's orchestrally-accompanied anthem Rejoice in the Lord, Burney said that:

"it was produced about the middle of Queen Anne's reign, before the arrival of Handel, our great model for Music richly accompanied".<sup>86</sup>

Burney's statement seems to be based on guesswork and it is probably inaccurate: Croft's anthem is more likely, on both stylistic and historical grounds, to have been composed in 1720.<sup>87</sup> The 1709 Te Deum, with its accompanying Jubilate, was almost certainly the only piece of orchestrally-accompanied church music which Croft composed before Handel's arrival. Croft later recast it in the light of his experience of Handel's Te Deum settings,<sup>88</sup> but nevertheless, his Te Deum is a significant work: it shows that Croft intended to preserve the Chapel Royal tradition of "Music richly accompanied" for special occasions and that, as a composer, he had sufficient resource to tackle the task of providing the first new setting of its type for more than a decade. It is the most important new landmark in English church music before Handel's arrival in London in 1710.

# CHAPTER 2, TABLE 1

## Thanksgiving Services during Queen Anne's reign

<u>Date</u>	<u>Occasion</u>	<u>Location of Royal Service</u>	<u>Printed order of service</u> <sup>1</sup>	<u>Music</u>
12-11-1702	Signal successes of Her Majesty's forces	St. Paul's Cathedral <sup>2</sup>	G. Pamph. 1522(11) Ps. 34, v. 3/ Ps. 81, v. 1 Pss. 33, 98, 145 Te Deum & Jubilate	Purcell: Te Deum & Jubilate in D <sup>3</sup> "several other anthems" <sup>4</sup>
7- 9-1704	Victory at Blenheim	St. Paul's <sup>5</sup>	G. Pamph. 1522(17) Ps. 34, v. 3 / Ps. 41, v. 1 Pss. 75, 76, 144 Te Deum & Jubilate	Te Deum (?Purcell) "perform'd by her Majesty's Choir and Musick" <sup>6</sup> Blow: Awake, awake, utter a song/ Blessed be the Lord my strength/ Let the righteous be glad <sup>7</sup>
23- 8-1705	Forcing of the Blenheim lines	St. Paul's <sup>8</sup>	G. Pamph. 1517(13) Ps. 30, v. 1/ Ps. 66, v. 7 Pss. 9, 47, 92 Te Deum & Jubilate	"Musick, both vocal and instrumental" <sup>9</sup> (?Purcell Te Deum) Clarke: I will love Thee <sup>10</sup>
27- 6-1706	Victory at Brabant (Ramillies)	St. Paul's <sup>11</sup>	Pamph. 268 (12) Ps. 111, v. 4/ Ps. 6, v. 9 Pss. 33, 52, 149 Te Deum & Jubilate	Purcell: Te Deum <sup>12</sup> Croft: O clap your hands <sup>13</sup> Clarke: The Lord is my strength <sup>14</sup>

31-12-1706	Successes of the year	St. Paul's <sup>15</sup>	G. Pamph. 1522(19) Ps. 124, v. 5/ Ps. 101, v. 1 Pss. 21, 47, 62 Te Deum & Cantate Domino	Purcell: Te Deum <sup>16</sup> "a fine anthem was sung" <sup>17</sup> Croft: The Lord is my light <sup>18</sup>
1- 5-1707	Union of England and Scotland	St. Paul's <sup>19</sup>	G. Pamph. 1522(22) Ps. 126, v. 3/ Ps. 135, v. 1 Pss. 122, 133 Te Deum & Cantate Domino	"Te Deum sung" <sup>20</sup> Blow, Clarke & Croft: Behold how good and joyful <sup>21</sup>
19- 8-1708	Success against Pretender's invasion/victory at Oudenarde	St. Paul's <sup>22</sup>	Pamph. 276(2) Ps. 135, v. 1/ Ps. 68, v. 1 Pss. 33, 76 Te Deum & Jubilate	Purcell: Te Deum <sup>23</sup> Croft: I will alway give thanks <sup>24</sup>
17- 2-1708 /9	Protection from enemies, and successes of campaign	St. James's Palace <sup>25</sup> (Chapel Royal)	Pamph. 276(1) Ps. 107, v. 22/ Ps. 43, v. 3 Pss. 92, 144 Te Deum & Jubilate	Croft: Te Deum & Jubilate in D <sup>26</sup> Weldon: Rejoice in the Lord <sup>27</sup> Croft: Sing unto the Lord <sup>28</sup>

22-11-1709	Victory at Blaregnies, near Mons	St. James's <sup>29</sup>	Pamph.281(2) Ps.47,v.6/ Ps.116,v.16 Pss.44,75 Te Deum & Jubilate	?Te Deum Weldon: O give thanks unto the Lord <sup>30</sup> Croft: O praise the Lord <sup>31</sup>
7-11-1710	Successes of campaign, and victories in Spain	St. James's <sup>32</sup>	Pamph.284(3) Ps.34,v.3/ Ps.115,v.1 Pss.47,118 Te Deum & Jubilate	"Te Deum was sung to excellent Musick" <sup>33</sup> (?Croft Te Deum) Croft: O sing unto the Lord <sup>34</sup> ?Galliard: I am well pleased <sup>35</sup>
7- 7-1713	Conclusion of Peace with France	(St. Paul's) <sup>36</sup>	Pamph.305(8) <sup>37</sup> Ps.34,v.1/ Ps.96,v.1 Pss.85,122,145 Te Deum & Jubilate	Handel: Te Deum & Jubilate <sup>38</sup> Croft: This is the day <sup>38</sup>



Chapter 2 Table 1 - Sources and Notes

1. All Orders of Service listed contain Morning Prayer, Litany and Communion. The lines in this column give the following information:
  1. Source (All references to Oxford, Bodleian Library)
  2. First verse of Opening Sentences
  3. First verse of Canticle in loco Venite
  4. Specified Psalms
  5. Specified Canticles
2. Boyer: Anne, p.35; Sheppard: Memorial, i. p.232-3
3. Smith: Walsh 1, p.33, No.108. Presumably the Jubilate was performed with the Te Deum at subsequent services where that canticle was specified.
4. Boyer: Anne (Annals), i p.141
5. Luttrell: Relation, v p.457, 460, 462;  
Boyer: Anne (Annals) iii p. 96ff.
6. Boyer, *ibid*, 96ff
7. Identified by Bruce Wood from the contents of Cfm MS 238-9. Other anthems associated with the victory are:
 

Tudway: I will give thanks (BL Harl. MS. 7341) and  
Croft: I Will give thanks (BL RM.27.a.9, and Divine Harmony)

but it is doubtful whether they were performed at the St. Paul's thanksgiving service.
8. Sheppard, i p.233; Luttrell, v p.575, 579
9. Luttrell, v p.585
10. Tenbury MSS 310,1031; Ob MS Mus.c.58 (Some sources misdated 23-9-1705)
11. Luttrell, vi p.61; Boyer: Anne (Annals), v p.140;  
Sheppard, i p.236
12. Boyer: Anne (Annals), v p.154, which also gives the texts of anthems as Ps. 47 (Croft) and Ps. 89 (?)
13. Tenbury 310, 1031; Birmingham, Barber 5009, Divine Harmony.  
Croft: The Lord hath appeared was written "on the News" of the battle (BL RM.27.a.9) and was probably not performed at the Thanksgiving; similarly Blow: Blessed is the man attributed to 27 July in Tenbury MS. 1031
14. Occ Ms 48; Cfm MS 152; BL RM.27.a.9; Divine Harmony
15. Boyer: Anne (Annals), v p.398; Boyer: Anne, p.274

16. Smith: Walsh 1, p.77, No.248. Since the second canticle specified in the order of service was the Cantate Domino, Purcell's Jubilate was presumably not performed.
17. Luttrell, vi p.122-3
18. Tenbury MSS 797-803; Divine Harmony: "Sung at St. Paul's", but misdated 31-12-1707.
19. Luttrell, vi p.155,166; Boyer: Anne (Annals), vi. p.211; Boyer: Anne, p.288.
20. Boyer: Anne (Annals) vi p.223-4.  
Concerning the Jubilate, see note (16) supra.
21. Divine Harmony. Croft's part of the anthem is in BL Add. Ms. 17847. Tudway's Behold how good and joyful was composed for the Chapel Royal (BL Harl. Ms. 7342), but would not have been performed at the same service as the other setting of the same text.
22. Luttrell, vi p.326, 341; DC 20-8-1708;  
Boyer: Anne (Annals), vii p. 231, 243; Boyer: Anne, p.357.
23. Smith: Walsh 1, p.86, No. 276, "to be performed by the Gentlemen of her Majesty's Chappel Royal, as also the private Musick". See also preface to Purcell Society Vol. xxiii, p.13, Jubilate presumably included in service.
24. BL. Add. Ms. 17847; Divine Harmony; Collection, 1724; ibid, 1736, 1749. Tudway (BL. Harl. MS. 7342) claimed that his anthem O Praise the Lord, for it is a good thing was "sung to ye Queen on the Thanksgiving for ye victory at Audenard", but this is doubtful.
25. PB 17-19 Feb.; Boyer: Anne (Annals), vii p.274,297 "The Queen went, with the usual solemnity, (sic) to St. James's Chappel".
26. Ob MS. Mus.d.30. Croft added the following annotation to the end of both the Te Deum and the Jubilate in the copy BL. Add. Ms. 17845:

"Perform'd twice before her most Gracious Majesty Queen Ann att ye Chappell Royall at St. James's on Thanksgiving Days":

on the Jubilate Croft also added:

"and Thrice att St. Paul's".

This was written before Tudway copied it (BL.Harl.MS. 7342) in 1720, and the totals can be accounted for as follows:

St. James's, Thanksgivings 1708/9 and one of the two following;  
St. Paul's, Thanksgiving January 1715 (See chapter 6),  
Sons of the Clergy 1717 and 1718.

27. Divine Harmony; Collection, 1724; ibid, 1736;  
BL Ass. Ms 41847, probably as a pair with O sing unto  
the Lord (dated 9-1-1708, i.e. 1708/9).
  
28. Divine Harmony and Collection, 1724, 1736 "Composed for  
the 'Thanksgiving' - possibly not performed?. The Supple-  
ment, 16-18 Feb.:  
  

"There was an Anthem sung, and the Musick, which was  
very fine, was compos'd by Mr. W. Crofts".

"Musick" here may refer to the canticles. Compare, however,  
Boyer: Anne (Annals), vii, p.297,

"an Anthem being sung, to Musick composed by Mr. Crofts".
  
29. PB, 17-19 Nov.; EP, 22-24 Nov. ("several Anthems were sung  
to excellent music"); Boyer: Anne (Annals), viii p.200.
  
30. Divine Harmony
  
31. Lcm MS 839; Divine Harmony; Collection, 1724; ibid, 1736.
  
32. Luttrell, vi. p.634; Boyer: Anne, p.480; The Supplement  
6-8 Nov.; Boyer: Anne (Annals), ix p.245, 253;  
Boyer: Political State, i p.25
  
33. Boyer: Anne (Annals), ix p.253. See also note (26) supra.
  
34. Divine Harmony
  
35. Ob MS Mus.c.2 and Lichfield Cathedral MS (see RMARC III, p.56):  
  

"sung at the Chapel Royal at St. James's, on a  
Thanksgiving Day".
  
36. The Queen went to St. James's at the last minute:  
see infra, Chapter 4.
  
37. Dated 16-6-1713, the original intended date for the  
Thanksgiving.
  
38. Lcm MS 839; Divine Harmony, appendix.

CHAPTER THREE

FORMATIVE INFLUENCES ON HANDEL'S CHURCH MUSIC;

HANDEL AND THE ENGLISH VERSE ANTHEM

	page
Germany and Italy 1698-1710	50
Hanover and London 1710-1712	57
The English Verse Anthem: Croft's music	62
Handel's return to London, 1712	69
Anthem 6C: Background	71
The Anthem	77
Autograph	93
Manuscript Copies	95



1 See Hicks: RMA, p. 85

2 Mainwaring: Memoirs, p. 14

3 Schoelcher: Handel, p. 8-9;

Coxe: Anecdotes: p. 56

4 See Günter Thomas, 'Zachow' in Grove 6th. ed.  
(The New Grove).

# FORMATIVE INFLUENCES ON HANDEL'S CHURCH MUSIC;

## HANDEL AND THE ENGLISH VERSE ANTHEM

### Germany and Italy 1698-1710

Some account must be taken of Handel's experience of church music in Germany and Italy before he came to England. Tantalisingly little music can be identified with certainty as the product of his early years in Germany.<sup>1</sup> The 'Mainwaring' biography tells us of his early training under Friedrich Wilhelm Zachow, the Halle organist:

He (Zachow) had a large collection of Italian as well as German music: he shewed him the different styles of different nations; the excellencies and defects of each particular author; and, that he might equally advance in the practical part, he frequently gave him subjects to work, and made him copy, and play, and compose in his stead.<sup>2</sup>

A musical commonplace book, reputed to have been Handel's in 1698, survived until the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>3</sup> Whether this was genuine or not, the composers included - Zachow, (?Pietro) Alberti, Froberger, (J.P.) Krieger, (J.C. von) Kerl, Ebner and (?D. or N.A.) Strunch - probably reflect accurately enough the repertoire on which Handel was brought up. With regard to German church music, Zachow's own cantatas fortunately provide evidence of Handel's models.

In Zachow's cantatas Italian-derived operatic forms (aria, accompanied recitative) are mixed with indigenous German forms based on the chorale. His attraction to the current Italian style marks Zachow out as one of the more progressive organist-composers of his period<sup>4</sup> and, to judge from later events, this attraction found a ready response in his pupil. The instrumental ritornellos to some cantata arias show that Zachow had grasped the principle

- 5 See, for example, the opening of 'Mein Jesu, habe Dank', Z  
Zachow: Works, p.189
- 6 'Ach und weh', ibid, p.56
- 7 See the instrumental prelude to Lobe den Herrn,  
ibid, p.145
- 8 See 'Der Herr hat Grosses an uns getan',  
ibid, p.175
- 9 Ibid, p.50

of melodic extension on which the Italian style was based:<sup>5</sup> the harmonic drive of the Italian style which supports this is also there, and Zachow also displays a firm directional control over passages of chromatic harmony.<sup>6</sup> His handling of larger instrumental forces is based on the 'concertato' principle, employing contrasted blocks of sound from groups of voices and instruments.<sup>7</sup> Although Zachow's cantatas are related more closely to J.S. Bach's cantatas than to Handel's English church music, some techniques which we normally associate with Handel's music can be found in them. There are, for example, broad affirmative strokes of the type employed by Handel in the Coronation Anthems.<sup>8</sup> The arioso-type texture of Ex. 1 was employed by Handel in No. 5 of the Utrecht Te Deum and several solo movements in the Chapel Royal music.

Ex. 1 Adagio, staccato [ Zachow: Works p. 164 ]

Violin & 2  
Viola  
Voice  
Bassi

Herr, Herr, ich bin zu ge-rin-ge, ich bin..

Some features of Zachow's cantatas show parallels with contemporary developments in English music. His use of trumpets and strings is reminiscent of Purcell's odes,<sup>9</sup> and some of his ostinato bass fig-



10 'Zu Bethlehem, in David's stadt', ibid, p.90

11 Keiser's setting of Der blutige und sterbende  
Jesus was performed in Hamburg in 1704 (Smallman,  
Passion Music, p.32) and it is possible that the  
St. John Passion, formerly attributed to Handel but  
probably by Georg Böhm, was also performed there  
during Handel's period of residence.

ures are remarkably similar to Purcell's favourite ground-bass types.<sup>10</sup> Many an English verse anthem, furthermore, moves with the short phrases and close imitations of Ex. 2.

Ex. 2 *Aria* [ibid., p. 159]

Alto  
Tenor  
Bass  
B.C.

Grosser Schöpfer, nimm vorlieb

6 5 6 5 3 6 6 6 5 6 5 3

One surviving copy of a Zachow cantata is believed to be in Handel's hand: even without this evidence, the direct influence of these works on Handel's early development can be assumed. We may guess the nature of the musical subjects which Zachow gave his pupil to "work" from the cantatas and also from Zachow's surviving keyboard music, reference to which will be made later in this chapter. When Handel left Halle for Hamburg his centre of activity moved away from church music but it seems likely that, if Zachow's influence had made its mark, Handel took some interest in the musical life of the Hamburg churches. It is difficult to believe that Handel left the magnificent organs in Hamburg unplayed, or that he ignored the important performances of Passion Music.<sup>11</sup>

Although the German background supplied some materials towards the formation of Handel's style, it is to the Italian visit that we must look for the ripening of this style. His church music from the Italian period was all composed in a vigorous spate of activity in 1707, largely between April and July. The works involved fall into two categories: the cantata-type motets mainly for soprano with string accompaniment, and larger concerted pieces. The com-

- 12 See Kirkendale: Ruspoli
- 13 They were not necessarily composed under Ruspoli patronage: Handel may have been working for Pamphili in April 1707. Similarities of scoring suggest that the large Latin works were all written for the same group of performers. See also: Hall Latin Church Music.
- 14 The use of a larger orchestra does not, in itself, exclude the possibility of performances under Ruspoli patronage. Ruspoli did engage larger forces for special performances, such as La Resurrezione.
- 15 HG Vol.38, p.85-7, and see also 'Nisi Dominus', ibid, p.128
- 16 Ibid, p.104. From the autograph (B.L. RM.20.f.1) it appears that Handel wrote "Capella" first and added "tutti" as an afterthought.
- 17 In, for example, the opening soprano solo of the D major Laudate pueri (HG Vol.38, p.21). According to Mainwaring (Memoirs, p.56-7) Handel's work in Rome brought him into contact with Corelli, the model violinist-composer of the Italian style.
- 18 He had previously worked with Italian singers in Hamburg, where operas were often performed with a mixed German/Italian cast, but probably not of the same calibre as those he found in Italy.

positions of the first group are closely related to the secular cantatas composed at the same period and their origins are well documented because, like the secular cantatas, they were produced under the patronage of the Marquis Francesco Maria Ruspoli.<sup>12</sup> The Ruspoli household documents show that they were intended for performance by *Durastanti* and a chamber group of household musicians which did not normally exceed a string trio and keyboard continuo. Unfortunately the Ruspoli sources contain no references to the larger pieces of Latin church music which constitute the second group.<sup>13</sup> The absence of documentary background material to these larger works is rather tantalising. Dixit Dominus, Nisi Dominus and the D major setting of Laudate Pueri were certainly composed for larger instrumental forces than the Ruspoli chamber ensemble,<sup>14</sup> and the five-part string texture suggests the use of a substantial orchestral force. Dixit Dominus includes 'solo' indications against the voice parts which suggest the use of more than one singer to a part elsewhere,<sup>15</sup> and one chorus entry is marked 'Tutti Capella',<sup>16</sup> but we do not know the size of the choral forces employed.

Nevertheless, in Handel's Latin psalm settings we are faced with the sudden appearance of a fully-formed concerted style, combined with a complementary skill in achieving an appropriate balance between solo and ensemble material. Each of the psalm settings contains some material for solo voices, either as separate movements or in passages where one voice is alternated with the full ensemble of four or five voices. Some of the more florid solo passages seem to owe something to contemporary violin writing,<sup>17</sup> but even so the writing for solo voices is more rewarding than that found in Handel's previous music, as represented by the Hamburg Opera Almira. This is partly the result of his direct practical experience of working with Italian singers,<sup>18</sup> but it is also



- 19 Caldara held office at the Mantuan court until 1707, and became Ruspoli's Maestro di Capella in March 1709, at the end of Handel's period of association with Ruspoli. Handel almost certainly met both the man and his music at some stage. Although Caldara may have been influenced by Handel, his own style was formed (largely under the influence of Legrenzi) before he met the Saxon visitor. see Kirkendale: .  
Caldara and, for the music, Caldara: Works
- 20 HG Vol. 38, p.28-9
- 21 Ibid, p. 114 et seq.
- 22 The 'Gloria Patri' to this work is not in HG. First published, c. 1897, in Novello's Octavo Choruses (No. 765), and then included in T.W.Bourne's edition of the complete work (Novello & Co., n.d.)
- 23 HG Vol. 38, p.58, 93
- 24 Ibid, p.79, to take one example.
- 25 Ibid, p.29, 55
- 26 Ibid, p.77
- 27 A plainsong theme usually associated with the Magnificat.

a symptom of the subtle changes in Handel's style which seem to have taken place almost immediately on his arrival in Italy. His contact at first hand with contemporary Italian music, of which the music of Caldara with its smooth, purposeful, harmony may be taken as representative,<sup>19</sup> moulded his own musical techniques towards providing a stronger harmonic thrust and larger phrase-spans. The extent of the revolution may be seen in a movement such as 'Sit nomen Domini' from Laudate Pueri Dominum,<sup>20</sup> where Handel uses chains of sevenths, a directional bass line and overlapping between the voice and oboe phrases to impel the music forward. The result is thoroughly "modern", closer to the style of later works such as Vivaldi's famous D major Gloria than to the German works which Handel had left behind.

The chorus writing in Handel's Latin psalms includes only a limited amount of conventional extended imitative music: the final sections of the doxologies in Dixit Dominus<sup>21</sup> and Nisi Dominus<sup>22</sup> could be described as 'fugal', and apart from these there are few short exposition-like passages elsewhere in Dixit Dominus.<sup>23</sup> More characteristic of Handel's technique is the contrapuntal working of two or more themes presented simultaneously.<sup>24</sup> Sometimes this is effectively combined with the contrast between a single part and the full chorus, the solo part introducing one of the themes so that it can be taken in by the ear before it becomes part of the larger texture.<sup>25</sup> Once the music is under way, the contrast between a single part and the full ensemble remains an important resource. It is used with striking effect in Dixit Dominus both as a way of extending the musical interest<sup>26</sup> and as a means of introducing new material within a movement. A remarkable example of the latter use occurs in the first movement, where a cantus firmus theme<sup>27</sup> introduced in the treble part is answered and com-



53

[Hq. Vol. 38, p. 58-9]

*Sz.*

Vn.1

Vn.2

Va.1

Va.2

S

A

T

B

B.C.



plemented by shorter phrases, themselves in blocks of alternating rhythmic imitation, from the rest of the chorus and orchestra (Ex.3) . The techniques used here may be related to those practised in Germany in the treatment of chorale melodies, but the forceful simplicity of Handel's presentation is far from the ruminative world of most chorale preludes. One choral texture which became a favourite of Handel's is based on similar principles, but gives the solo line division-type passage work against staccato choral chords: (Ex.4)

Ex. 4

[HG. Vol 38, p. 49]

100

Oboe solo.

Tutti Viol.

unls.

S. Solo

S.

A.

T.

B.

B.c.

men, a. men,

men, a. men,

men, a. men,

men, a. men,

In structural terms, the most remarkable sign of Handel's technical assurance in the choral writing of the Latin Psalms is the effective balance between homophonic and contrapuntal elements. The polyphonic density is skillfully varied and, above all, Handel knows exactly when to slip from a chordal beginning into imitative phrase-extension, or when to pull the threads together again into a concerted homophonic passage to round off a section. This sense

28 See, for example, the outburst on 'Quis sicut Dominus?', HG Vol.38, p.37

29 See Dean: Oratorios, p.642, 646

30 See Appendix 10, also, for Latin church music 'borrowings' in Handel's Chapel Royal music.

of timing is, no doubt, the product of the same qualities which made him an effective theatrical composer. The theatrical element itself is not missing from the church music, especially when strong rhetorical declamation is demanded by the text.<sup>28</sup>

The Latin psalms show that Handel was a master of the techniques required for church music as early as 1707. Most of the musical ideas which are popularly associated with Handel's English choral music are present in these works: it only needs a change of words, for example, to turn Ex.3 into a traditional, though minor-key, 'Hallelujah' chorus. The Latin works provided Handel with experience in dealing with psalm texts and a mine of thematic material on which he drew for his later English works. Handel does not cultivate a separate style for his church music at any period: his later transference of material from anthems to oratorios is sufficient reminder of that. Nevertheless, it is remarkable that Handel drew on his Latin psalms so much for the English church music and so little for the oratorios. Two ideas from Dixit Dominus were used in Deborah, and three from Laudate Pueri in Joshua and Solomon.<sup>29</sup> any other material from the Latin church music in the oratorios only arrived there through previous use in Chandos Anthems or Chapel Royal works. By contrast, Handel turned particularly to the Latin works for inspiration when composing the Chandos Anthems.<sup>30</sup>

#### Hanover and London, 1710-12

Handel's Latin church music, like his later Chandos music, was probably composed under noble patronage for performances that were only semi-public. His first English church music was produced under very different circumstances, against a background of public life at the English court and the musical traditions of the London choirs. The political background to Handel's relationship with the

- 31 The reasons for this are explained in Hatton: George I, p. 364, note 53.
- 32 J.B. Farinelli held this post from 1680 to 1713
- 33 Schnath: Briefwechsel, p.187-9, Letters of June 4 and June 14, 1710
- 34 More precisely, Handel probably based his duets on what he believed to be the Steffani pattern, but his own models lacked Steffani's solo movements. See Timms: Handel and Steffani. The evidence for Princess Caroline's enjoyment of the Italian duet form is rather thin, and many of the statements in general biographies of Handel about her support of the composer seem to be based on retrospective deductions from the 1737 Funeral Anthem. Another, unpublished, letter of the Electress Sophia's dated 15 June 1710 does, however, report that the Princess was 'Carried away' by Handel's keyboard playing. (See Schnath: Hannover III, p.509, note 47)
- 35 Mainwaring: Memoirs, p.71-2



English court is of great consequence in describing the origins of his first English church music. Unfortunately there is much about Handel's political position in his first years in London which remains obscure: there are anomalies in his relationship with the court which can be described but not explained. His protracted residence in London whilst still in the employ of the Hanoverian court is one of the least difficult parts of the problem. The Kapellmeistership at Hanover which Handel accepted in June 1710 must have been, from the first, something of an honorary appointment. The Hanover opera was in abeyance<sup>31</sup> and the routine music of the Hanover court was in the hands of a Konzertmeister,<sup>32</sup> who was in charge of the court musicians. The Kapellmeister was presumably only expected to provide occasional court entertainments. Handel's predecessor, Steffani, was involved in political and ecclesiastical affairs so extensively as to suggest that his musical duties at Hanover were in no way restricting. As far as we know, church music was no part of the Kapellmeister's duties: Steffani, in any case, was a Roman Catholic at a Protestant court. Handel's musical activities during his short periods of residence at Hanover remain obscure. The two surviving letters written by the Electress Sophia which refer to Handel speak mainly of his keyboard playing.<sup>33</sup> In addition to performing and composing keyboard music he may have provided some chamber music, perhaps a concerto or two and some of the Italian duets after Steffani's model which were evidently popular with the young Princess Caroline.<sup>34</sup> One of the Electress' letters shows that she recognised Handel's ambitions as an opera composer, so presumably it was not difficult for him to obtain leave of absence when suitable opportunities arose. Whether or not Handel was committed to the London visit before he accepted the Hanover appointment,<sup>35</sup> this visit suited the foreign policy of the

- 36 The suggestion that George August (the future King George II) should come to England to take the seat in the House of Lords to which he was entitled as Duke of Cambridge met with a stern answer from Queen Anne. Boyer, pro-Hanoverian, took delight in publishing the rather acrimonious correspondence (Political State, vii, p.599). But there was more to this incident than appears on the surface: the Hanoverian request forced Queen Anne to declare against the Pretender (see Hatton: George I, p.107-8)
- 37 This is not to say that she discouraged Jacobites who were loyal to herself from hoping for her support, when she felt such encouragement to be politically advantageous. Her own title to the throne was nevertheless based on the exclusion of the Pretender, and her support for the Hanoverian line was firm, when she was eventually forced to declare on the matter of the succession. See Gregg: Anne

Hanoverian court. The Elector and his Court were looking towards the forthcoming British inheritance throughout the last years of Queen Anne's reign. A Hanoverian Resident, Kreienburg, was stationed in London from September 1710 and a succession of important Hanoverian diplomats - Grote, Schütz and Bothmer - served as envoys extraordinary. A German advance party in London, political or cultural, was obviously desirable to prepare the way at the English court, and to act as a damper on potential Jacobite influence. The Queen's attitude to the Hanoverian court was a dual one. She strongly resisted any visit, let alone any advance settlement, from members of the Electoral family:<sup>36</sup> on the other hand, she seems to have made up her mind that the Hanoverian succession was the only possible one and her refusal to countenance Jacobite activity during the last years of her reign was one of the factors which put George Lewis safely on the throne at her death.<sup>37</sup> Visitors from the Hanoverian court were made welcome at the court in London: Hanoverian interests encouraged these visitors to make the most of their welcome.

There is no doubt that Handel himself found favour at Queen Anne's court during his first visit, even before the successful production of Rinaldo, his first London opera:

Tuesday, the 6th. of February, (1710/1) being the Queen's Birth-day, the same was observed with great Solemnity: the Court was extream numerous and magnificent; the Officers of State, Foreign Ministers, Nobility, and Gentry, and particularly the Ladies, vying with each other, who should most grace the Festival. Between One and Two in the Afternoon, was perform'd a fine Consort, being a Dialogue in Italian, in Her Majesty's Praise, set to excellent Musick by the famous Mr. Handel, a Retainer to the Court of Hanover,

38 Boyer: Anne (Annals), ix, p.315;

also Boyer: Political State, i, p.156

39 The evidence for this is given in Chapter 4,  
where Handel's Birthday Ode for Queen Anne,  
Eternal Source of Light Divine, is dealt with.

40 Boyer: Anne (Annals), x, p.344;

Boyer: Political State, iii. p.67

41 Nalbach: The King's Theatre, Chapter 1

42 Rinaldo (1711) p.ii



in the Quality of Director of his Electoral Highness's Chapple, and sung by Cavaliero Nicolini Grimaldi, and the other Celebrated Voices of the Italian Opera: with which Her Majesty was extramly well pleas'd.<sup>38</sup>

This performance appears to have replaced the court Ode for the Birthday which was the traditional task of native English forces. The English composers were ousted from the royal birthday ode for the rest of the reign.<sup>39</sup> In 1712, when Handel was not in England, the music performed at the Queen's Birthday was

an excellent Consort collected out of several Italian Operas, by Signior Cavaliero Nicolini Grimaldi and perform'd by him, and the other best voices.<sup>40</sup>

For one of the following years Handel composed the Birthday Ode Eternal Source of Light Divine, a work along the lines of the previous English odes and intended for English performers.

From what has been seen in Chapter 2 of Anne's patronage of music during previous reigns we may suspect that the Queen, like Charles II before her, had a genuine interest in music. In the third year of her reign Vanburgh's theatre in the Haymarket was opened with the performance of an Italian opera, and from 1708 the programmes of this theatre were devoted solely to opera.<sup>41</sup> It was the opportunities at the Queen's Theatre that brought Handel to London. There is no evidence that the Queen herself ever attended performances there; by 1710, in any case, ill health and her increasing personal isolation were limiting Anne's social activities. She may nevertheless have taken some pleasure in reading the dedication to the libretto of Rinaldo, where Aaron Hill asserted that:

the Universal Glory of your Majesty's illustrious Name drew

hither the most celebrated Masters from every Part of Europe.<sup>42</sup>

Both Hill and Rossi drew particular attention to Handel in their

- 43 Mainwaring: Memoirs, p.74
- 44 My interpretation of Handel's itinerary, based on Hanover Court documents, is that he left Hanover in mid-October, when the Electoral court set out for the annual hunting party at Gohrde. If, as Mainwaring says, he called at Halle and Düsseldorf before coming to England, he is unlikely to have arrived in London before mid-November at the earliest. On the other hand, a letter from J.D. Brandeburg to Leibniz, dated October 21 1712, says that Handel was active in the London opera company. (Hannover, Landesbibliothek, L.Br. 97)
- 45 One of Handel's songs was introduced, with an English text, into a performance of Pirro e Demetrio at the Haymarket Theatre on December 6. (Deutsch: Handel, p.30) This may suggest that Handel was in London at the time.
- 46 See Appendix 4, and Chapter 2.
- 47 Smith: Walsh 1, Nos. 108, 248, 276 and 595

prefaces to the libretto, Hill calling him "Mr. Hendel, whom the World so justly celebrates" and Rossi "Signor Hendel, Orfeo del nostro Secolo". If the Queen could not attend the opera, she had at least the satisfaction of having heard the musicians at her own private court performance.

Handel first arrived in London "in the winter of the year 1710"<sup>43</sup>. It is unlikely that he was in London in time for the Thanksgiving Service on November 11.<sup>44</sup> If he heard any orchestral-ly-accompanied church music at all on his first visit, this might have been at the Sons of the Clergy service at St. Paul's on December 5.<sup>45</sup> This possibility is hedged with uncertainties. If Handel was in London in time, he may not have realised the significance of the Sons of the Clergy service, even though by then it was an important musical and social event; if he did attend, we can not even be certain that any music with orchestral accompaniment was performed. Documentary reports of music for the occasion are lacking, though the texts of Croft's anthems were printed, and these do not have orchestral accompaniment. Nevertheless, it is probable that an orchestrally-accompanied setting of the canticles was performed if such a tradition had been started in the previous year.<sup>46</sup> The most likely music would, of course, have been Purcell's. Even if Handel did not hear Purcell's Te Deum and Jubilate performed, he had ready access to the music through Walsh's printed edition which, to judge from the regularity of his advertisements,<sup>47</sup> remained sufficiently popular for the publisher to keep it in print. Some Englishman who had known Purcell would surely have enlightened the visiting Saxon composer as to the greatness of England's recent native genius at some time during his first visit. If Handel had any curiosity at all about Purcell's church music, the Te Deum and Jubilate was by far the most easily available work.

48 See Appendix 3

49 NCB, p.135

50 WA2, p.30

51 See Scandrett: Croft, and worklist in Grove, 6th Edition (The New Grove), sub, 'William Croft'.

52 Croft himself transferred material between the two types. His most famous Full Anthem, God is gone up (text included in Divine Harmony, 1712) draws two of its three movements from his 1706 Verse Anthem O clap your hands.



The English Verse Anthem: Croft's music

Whether or not Handel heard any orchestrally-accompanied church music during his first visit, it seems almost certain that he would have heard Full and Verse anthems performed by one or other of the major London choral establishments. Although their repertoire as revealed in the anthem word-books was catholic in its selection from the composers of previous generations, there was inevitably a bias towards the work of more recent composers.<sup>48</sup> The music of Croft, the leading contemporary composer, must now be examined. As stated in Chapter Two, Croft's compositions consist primarily of Full and Verse Anthems. Full Anthems were performed at the Chapel Royal at weekday morning services, Verse Anthems at weekday afternoon services and at both Sunday services.<sup>49</sup> At Westminster Abbey, where Croft was also organist, the proportion of Full Anthems was somewhat higher.<sup>50</sup> Full Anthems form only a small part of Croft's output: ten Full Anthems by him survive, against more than sixty Verse Anthems.<sup>51</sup> Except in their avoidance of solo movements the Full Anthems are not different in style from the Verse Anthems, and the techniques of choral writing employed are common to both types.<sup>52</sup> The opening of Put me not to rebuke (Ex.5) provides a good example of Croft's procedure in building up the voice entries in choral movements. In general he is quite skillfull in maintaining the musical interest in this type of movement by well-timed entries and suitable modulations. Croft normally adopts the traditional motet technique by beginning each new verbal phrase with a new musical point of imitation. Most Full Anthems include a central section for fewer voices or soloists. This often forms a complete movement in itself, ending with a full close and is followed by a final imitative choral movement on the same lines as the first. The opening of the central section of Put me not to rebuke is given

53 One of Purcell's most striking uses of this device occurs in the 1692 St. Cecilia Ode Hail, bright Cecilia, during a passage in the first chorus to the text ' may make the British forest prove as famous as Dodona's vocal grove'.

54 When the anthem was printed in the second volume of Musica Sacra, Croft presented the opening verse as if for ATBB. It is clear from the clefs used in RCM MS 839 and from the soloists' names added by Croft to this MS that it was nevertheless intended for AABB. Scandrett: Croft reproduces the Musica Sacra version as his Anthem 70.

## Ex. 5

William Croft: Put me not to rebuke

Handwritten musical score for William Croft's "Put me not to rebuke". The score is written for four voices: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B), with a basso continuo part (C.B.C.) indicated by a double bar line. The music is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The lyrics are written below the staves.

**Soprano (S):** Put me not to re-buke, O Lord, in thine an-ger, Put me not to re-buke, O Lord, in thine an-ger, put me not to re-

**Alto (A):** Put me not to re-buke, O Lord, in thine an-ger, Put me not to re-buke, O Lord, in thine an-ger, put me not to re-

**Tenor (T):** Put me not to re-buke, O Lord, in thine an-ger, Put me not to re-buke, O Lord, in thine an-ger, put me not to re-

**Bass (B):** Put me not to re-buke, O Lord, in thine an-ger, Put me not to re-buke, O Lord, in thine an-ger, put me not to re-

**C.B.C.:** Put me not to re-buke, O Lord, in thine an-ger, Put me not to re-buke, O Lord, in thine an-ger, put me not to re-

Continuation of the musical score for William Croft's "Put me not to rebuke". The score is written for four voices: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B), with a basso continuo part (C.B.C.) indicated by a double bar line. The music is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The lyrics are written below the staves.

**Soprano (S):** Put me not to re-buke, O Lord, in thine an-ger, Put me not to re-buke, O Lord, in thine an-ger, put me not to re-

**Alto (A):** Put me not to re-buke, O Lord, in thine an-ger, Put me not to re-buke, O Lord, in thine an-ger, put me not to re-

**Tenor (T):** Put me not to re-buke, O Lord, in thine an-ger, Put me not to re-buke, O Lord, in thine an-ger, put me not to re-

**Bass (B):** Put me not to re-buke, O Lord, in thine an-ger, Put me not to re-buke, O Lord, in thine an-ger, put me not to re-

**C.B.C.:** Put me not to re-buke, O Lord, in thine an-ger, Put me not to re-buke, O Lord, in thine an-ger, put me not to re-

【附】

[illegible]





- 55 RCM MS 1101, a volume of music bearing Croft's signature and the date 1697, includes music by Bassani, Carissimi, A. Scarlatti and Stradella, among others.
- 56 This fluency is not accompanied by technical perfection: consecutives are by no means absent from Croft's compositions.
- 57 In key, metre and layout, No. 7 seems indebted to 'O Lord, save thy people' from Purcell's D major Te Deum. Croft was not above direct 'cribbing' from Purcell's works: the alto solo 'The Lord from out of Sion' from Croft's Blessed are all they that fear the Lord is based on Purcell's famous duet 'Sound the Trumpet' from the Ode Come ye sons of art.

Chapter 3 Table 1

William Croft's Anthem: O praise the Lord, all ye that fear Him

Soloists named in RCM MS. 839: Hughs, Elford (Altos); Weely, Gates (Basses)

<u>Movement title</u>	<u>Psalms Text</u>	<u>Voices</u>	<u>Key</u>	<u>Time-signature</u>
1. O praise the Lord	22, v.23	AABB alternating with SATB chorus	D major	3 111 bars 4 (48 + 23 + 40)
2. Let them give thanks	107, v.2	AT <sup>1</sup>	B minor	C 47 bars
3. We will rejoice	20, v.5	AB	D major	C 16 bars
4. Now know I	20, v.6	A	D minor	3 66 bars 4
5. Some put their trust	20, v.7	SATB chorus	D minor	2 <sup>2</sup> 39 bars
6. They are brought down	20, v.8	B	D major	C 18 bars
7. Save, Lord leading to	20, v.9	AAB	B minor	3 22 bars 2
8. Be thou exalted	21, v.13	AABB and SATB chorus	D major	ø 43 bars (24 + 19)

1. Written in the tenor clef, but intended for Weeley (1st bass)

2. i.e. 4.  
2

8.3

Croft: O Praise the Lord, (No. 1)

Handwritten musical score for the hymn "Praise the Lord, praise the Lord". The score is written on staves with various musical notations including notes, rests, and dynamic markings like "Loud Organ". The lyrics "praise the Lord, praise the Lord" are written below the staves. The score includes parts for Mr. Elford and Mr. Gates, and is labeled with "Alto", "Bass", and "B.C." (Bass and Contralto).

Mr. Hughes

A.1 O — — — — — praise the Lord, praise — — — — — the Lord ye that fear him,

A.2 O — — — — — ye that all the Lord all ye that fear him

B.1 Mr Weedy O — — — — — praise the Lord, praise — — — — — the Lord, praise the Lord ye that fear him

B.2 O — — — — — ye that the Lord, all — — — — — the Lord, all — — — — — ye that fear him,

B.C. O — — — — — ye that the Lord, all — — — — — the Lord, all — — — — — ye that fear him,

56

4 3 7  
4 3  
7 6 4 3

[Solors', names from RCM MS. 839]



Ex. 9

*Solo*

Now know I that the

Lord hel - - - peth his anointed

Now know I that the Lord hel - - - peth his a

-nointed and will hear him and will hear him from his ho -

ly Heav'n Now know

I that the Lord hel - - - peth his anointed and will

hear him and will hear him from his ho - - - ly

Heav'n with the saving strength - - - of his right

hand w<sup>th</sup> sa - - - ving strength of his r<sup>ght</sup> hand w<sup>th</sup> the

sa - - - ving strength of his right hand

Ex. 9 and Ex. 10 are reproduced from *Musica Sacra*, II (1785/6)

in length. The symmetry of the key-scheme may have been deliberate: in this respect the anthem is more carefully organised than most of Croft's. The opening verse section for the soloists (Ex.8) leads into a chorus based on the same material. The following alto solo movement, quoted in full, is typical of the movements which Croft wrote for the Chapel Royal's leading alto soloist, Richard Elford. (Ex.9) The vocal line is generated over a directional but rather stiff bass part which harks back to Purcell's ground basses. Croft makes attempts at phrase-extension but relies too much on simple repetition. His harmony is smoother than Purcell's and his declamation less angular: these features suggest the influence of the Italian style,<sup>55</sup> but the breadth associated with this style is missing. If Croft's music sounds a little more 'modern' than Purcell's, his very fluency of harmony<sup>56</sup> and word-setting can be a drawback as well: the greatest weakness of Croft's music is a certain static, over-sweet quality which is magnified in large-scale movements by the conservatism of his tonal designs.

The chorus which follows the alto solo movement is of the same type as that illustrated in Ex.5. The subsequent Bass solo (Ex.10, overleaf) again demands complete quotation for its use of the slow/fast contrast (which reveals that Croft was capable of at least a limited dramatic response to the text), some word-painting in the Purcellian tradition and some faulty word-setting at the end which, if it had come from Handel, would have been attributed to his imperfect command of English. The final verse and chorus sections really form one unit, the end of No. 7 cadencing into No. 8 with an effective contrast of key, metre and speed. The homophony of No. 7<sup>57</sup> gives place in No. 8 to short imitative phrases with semiquaver figuration. A promising theme-combination



## Ex. 10

75

*Solo slow* *quick* *slow* *quick*

They are brought down brought down & fall'n but we are risen are  
 risen are ri- - - - - sen & stand upright they  
 are brought down down & fall'n but we are risen are ri- - - -  
 - sen & stand upright but we are risen are risen are ri- - - -  
 - - - - - sen and stand upright

emerges at the words "so will we sing and praise thy power" (Ex. 11)

but this is not developed: Handel would surely have seized upon

## Ex. 11

## Croft: O Praise the Lord (No. 8)

Alto 1 *Oh*  
 So will we sing and praise thy pow'r  
 Alto 2 *Oh*  
 so will we sing and praise thy pow'r  
 Bass 2  
 so will we sing, will we sing and praise thy pow'r  
 B.C. *Oh*

3#

- 58 See, for example, 'My soul fleeth unto the Lord' from Out of the deep, for a particularly florid example of recitative writing. On the other hand, a simpler movement such as 'Thou hast laid me in the lowest pit' from O Lord God of my salvation is closer to contemporary theatrical recitative.
- 59 This may indicate a deliberate demarcation between a 'theatre' style and a 'church' style, but it seems more probable to me to have been affected by conditions of performance: organ accompaniment, with the organist at some distance from the singer, limits rhythmic flexibility. Handel's English church music is also lacking in secco recitative, the only real example being 'Now when I think thereupon' in Anthems 6C and 6D. The church music from Handel's Italian period divides as we might expect: there is no operatic-type recitative in the larger choral works but it may be found in the cantata-type music. A good example from the latter is 'Vestro religiosi principes' from Coelestis dum spirat aura.
- 60 Scandrett counts 21 examples.
- 61 I have counted 11 examples. Many of them, of which Behold God is my salvation, I will lift up mine eyes and The Lord is my strength may serve as instances, begin with a movement in the major but end with a minor key movement.
- 62 See the letter to Andreas Romer, quoted in Deutsch: Handel p.44



its possibilities. Croft's anthems are at their best when questions of development do not arise. His best movements are those on a small scale where the brevity of the half-verses of the psalm is matched by the telling, pithy musical phrase.

This anthem is longer than most of Croft's, no doubt because of the special occasion for which it was composed, but in style it is typical of the anthems being written for the Chapel Royal at the time of Handel's first London visit. Some of Croft's solo movements tend more towards a recitative style than anything found in this anthem,<sup>58</sup> though they rely on a background of regular harmonic rhythms which suggest affinities with orchestrally-accompanied recitative rather than operatic continuo recitative.<sup>59</sup> One other feature of Croft's anthems which does not happen to be illustrated by O praise the Lord is that Croft continued a common feature of Purcell's anthems by concluding many of his own with an 'Alleluja' chorus.<sup>60</sup> A surprisingly large number of these are in minor keys and, indeed, it is not at all uncommon to find anthems by Croft with jubilant texts which end with minor key movements.<sup>61</sup>

#### Handel's return to London, 1712

It is very unlikely that Handel composed any English church music during his first visit, or set any English words to music at all. Having been received at court and by the wider London public on the strength of his achievements in Italian opera, he may not have felt anything more than a tourist's curiosity about English music. However, he devoted his energies to the study of the English language on his return to Hanover,<sup>62</sup> which suggests that he had definite plans for an early return and that, furthermore, he desired a closer contact with English cultural and political institutions on his return. It was perfectly possible for a successful professional musician working in the London opera house to remain part of the Italian/German sub-culture if he so wished: many

composers and solo singers did not seek any further integration into London's musical life. Handel, on the other hand, seems to have decided that his next visit to London would be on different terms. It is likely that from the start he planned this visit to be one of years rather than months. For the moment London offered prospects that were as attractive as the operatic centres in Italy and Germany. Once established in London, it would only be a matter of time before the Hanoverian Succession consolidated his position and secured his future. Perhaps he was even confident of the support which the opera house could expect from the future King. There was therefore every motive for Handel to improve his English in Hanover and to prepare to come to terms with the tastes and culture of the English on his return.

Assuming this attitude on Handel's part, we can now see the significance of English church music to him in 1712. Instrumental music, with its internationally-recognised styles, posed no cultural problem. Nor did theatre music, since the English were currently enthusiastic about Italian opera. It was in the field of church music that the English recognised their own indigenous tradition, and the Chapel Royal was the centre of the resources for this tradition. If he wanted to make his mark as something more than a foreigner on a flying visit, the Chapel Royal was the place to do it. The music which Handel composed during the period 1712-4 suggests that artistic interest and curiosity, as well as self-interest and the desire for advancement at court, played its part in his practical investigation of the opportunities which the Chapel Royal provided.

The music which Handel composed for the Chapel during this first period can be identified by the appearance of the name of the alto soloist Richard Elford (d.1714) on the autographs. Of

- 63 On the evidence of known dates it is Handel's first  
identifiable composition to an English text. As will  
be apparent from what follows, I believe it likely  
that Anthem 6C preceded the Utrecht Te Deum.
- 64 Advertised in PB July 15-17 and 19-22, DC 16 July
- 65 The contents of Clifford's collections are described  
in le Huray: Reformation, p. 367-8
- 66 Ob MS Mus.e.17, p.10, sub 'Church': "Collected the words  
of the anthems sung in the Chapel Royal &c 8 Lon.17--".  
Ford's notebook was probably first compiled about 1710,  
but he made sporadic additions to it up to c. 1720.  
"Hendel" is among the composers he lists, but without  
any further amplification. Ford was a Chaplain of Christ  
Church, Oxford, under Dean Aldrich from 1706 to 1712/3.  
At Christ Church he would have known Thomas Baker and  
Samson Estwick, musicians with strong London connec-  
tions. John Church himself may have had relations in  
Oxford (he is said by Ford to have been a chorister at  
St. John's College, and Christ Church musicians from  
the 1720s and 1730s included Henry and Richard Church)  
and the preface to Divine Harmony reveals that Aldrich  
answered some biographical queries in connection with  
the publication of the word-book. Ford himself was  
something of a musician, and musical copies in his hand  
are still extant: see Burrows: Oxford
- 67 B.L. RM.27.a.1-14. He was also the person to whom Thomas  
Tudway turned to negotiate arrangements for copying Croft's  
Te Deum (B.L. Harl. MS 3782, f.83)



the five works from this period, only the composition of the Utrecht Te Deum can be dated with certainty. The Utrecht Te Deum, composed perhaps within only three months of his arrival in England, demonstrates that Handel adapted to specifically 'English' needs with remarkable speed:<sup>63</sup> he had obviously made himself aware of the accepted principles of declamation and the conventional formal moulds of English church music, and of the musical strengths of the Chapel Royal choir. Of the remaining Chapel Royal works of this period, there is only one which may have been composed before the Utrecht music. On circumstantial evidence it seems possible that As Pants the Hart (Anthem 6C) was Handel's first English anthem. Since this work fits within the genre of the English verse anthem, and also contains musical references to Handel's German and Italian past, it is a suitable work to bring together the strands described so far.

#### ANTHEM 6C: As pants the Hart for cooling Streams

##### Background

In July 1712, not long before Handel's return to London, a book of anthem texts based on the Chapel Royal repertoire and entitled Divine Harmony was offered on sale to the public.<sup>64</sup> This was the first publication of its kind to appear in London since Clifford's Divine Services and Anthems of 1663/4<sup>65</sup> and, since the Chapel Royal repertoire had expanded enormously in half a century, it was long overdue. There are good reasons for accepting Thomas Ford's testimony that the anthem book was the work of John Church,<sup>66</sup> one of the leading Gentlemen of the Chapel. The ascription fits in with the fact that Church was the leading copyist of the Chapel Royal part-books at this period;<sup>67</sup> furthermore, the general tone of the preface to Divine Harmony is similar to that found in Church's



68 For the contents see Appendix 3

69 Copies at British Library and Royal College of Music.  
The royal insignia on the covers were apparently scored through (though not heavily) when the Chapel renewed their stock. The provision of the anthem books for use in the Chapel is recorded in the P.R.O. LC5/156, p.106: John Bowack was paid for "272 Anthem Books bound in red and blew turkey leather for Windsor and St. James's, Provided by her late Majesty's command" (dated 28-2-1714/5).

70 In July Tudway attempted to obtain "Dr. Arbuthnot's Anthems whc he made for ye Queen's Chappell" (Harl. MS.3782, f.76) but, to judge from his finished collection (Harl.MS 7337-7342) he did not succeed. Hawkins's statement (History, ii, p.859) that Arbuthnot's As pants the hart 'is to be found in the books of the chapel royal 'must refer to the text in Divine Harmony, for the music is not in the Chapel Royal part-books of the period.

71 Arbuthnot's correspondence from 1712-13 shows that he was both an important figure at Court and a respected cultural influence, as physician, man of letters, philosopher and mathematician.

Chapter 3 Table 2

'As pants the hart' by Arbutnot and Handel - Textual sources (all from Psalm 42)

<u>Arbutnot</u> (Divine Harmony, p.102)	<u>Sources</u>	<u>Handel</u> (6C autograph)	<u>Sources</u>
1. As pants the hart for cooling streams; so longs my soul for thee, O God.	TB (adapted)	As paints (sic) the hart for cooling streams, so longs my soul for thee, O Lord.	TB (adapted)
2. My soul is athirst for God, yea, even for the living God: when shall I appear before the presence of God?	PB		
3. Tears are my constant food, while thus they say, where is now thy God?	TB PB	Tears are my daly (sic) food, when thus they say: where is now thy God?	?PB (adapted)
4.		Now, when I think thereupon, I pour out my heart by myself For I went with the multitude and brought them out into the house of God	PB
5.		In the voice of praise of (sic) thanksgiving among such as keep holy-day.	PB

- |  |   |  |  |
|--|---|--|--|
| 6. Why so restless thou, O my soul,<br>why so disquieted within me?  | ? | Why so full of grief, O my soul,<br>why so disquieted within me? | ?PB<br>(adapted)                             |
| 7. Put thy trust in God; for I will<br>praise Him, for all his<br>gracious aid.  | ? | Put thy trust in God, for I will<br>praise him. Amen.            | ?PB adapted<br>with 'praise him'<br>from AV. |
| 9. One deep calleth unto another at<br>the voice of the water spouts:<br>all thy waves and storms are<br>gone over me. |   | Mixture<br>of PB (v.9)<br>and AV (v.7)                           |  |

Sources: Tate & Brady: A New Version of the Psalms (7th Ed., with Supplement, 1712)  
The Book of Common Prayer (1662 version)  
The Holy Bible (Authorised Version)

#### Notes:

- Verse 1: Both texts use lines 1 & 3 of TB's first verse:  
 As pants the hart for cooling streams/When heated in the chase;  
 So longs my soul, O God, for thee/ And thy refreshing grace.
- Handel's mistake "Paints" also accidentally occurs in the later editions of Playford: The Whole Book of Psalms (16th.ed., 1722, Medius and Bassus parts, p.65) but not in the earlier editions up to the 12th. ed. (1713)
- Verse 3: PB version: My tears have been my food day and night: while they daily say unto me,  
 Where is now thy God?
- Verse 4: PB has "and brought them forth".
- Verse 5: PB has "Praise and Thanksgiving"
- Verse 6: PB version: Why art thou so full of heaviness, O my soul: and why art Thou so disquieted within me?
- Verse 7: PB version: Put thy trust in God: for I will yet give him thanks for the help of his countenance.  
 AV version: Hope thou in God: for I shall yet praise him for the help of his countenance.

Introduction to Psalmody, published a decade later. Divine Harmony includes some texts submitted by provincial organists<sup>68</sup> and was offered on general sale to the public, but it was clearly geared mainly to the Chapel Royal and the title page said that it was "Publish'd with the Approbation of the Sub-Dean of Her Majesty's Chappels Royal". The Sub-Dean of the time was Ralph Battell, the preacher of the 1693 St. Cecilia sermon in defence of church music. At least two of the surviving copies have Chapel Royal bindings and were obviously formerly in use in the Royal Chapels.<sup>69</sup>

Divine Harmony would have given Handel an up-to-date picture of the current repertoire, and also a chance to relate his newly-improved command of the English language to the Chapel's musical-literary tastes. Most of the texts were chosen from the Prayer Book and the Authorised Version of the Bible, but, as it happens, the text which seems to have caught Handel's attention was a rather hybrid collection of verses from Psalm 42 attributed to Dr. Arbuthnot, "Physician in Ordinary to Her Majesty". The similarities between Arbuthnot's text and Handel's (see Table 2), particularly in the adaptation of Tate and Brady's metrical version of the first verse of the psalm, can not be accidental. Unfortunately, Arbuthnot's anthem does not seem to have survived: it may, in fact, have vanished or have been withdrawn from circulation by Arbuthnot by 1717.<sup>70</sup> It is possible that Arbuthnot did not actually compose any music for As pants the Hart but selected and paraphrased the text for someone else, though the variations in the text are too substantial to support the idea that the text as printed in Divine Harmony is one he selected for Handel in 1710-11. On the other hand, Arbuthnot was a man of wide interests and he may have made some attempt at musical composition to while away the time during slack periods while he was in waiting as the Queen's Physician.<sup>71</sup>



72 Mainwaring: Memoirs, p.93

73 See infra, Chapter 4, in connection with the Utrecht  
Te Deum. He may have been part of Handel's circle  
of personal friends, a side of the composer's life  
on which there is scant evidence.

74 Usually attributed to Addison

Considering his status at court, it is not unlikely that the Chapel Royal would have agreed to perform his music. Arbuthnot's high opinion of Handel's music<sup>72</sup> might have originated when the composer re-set and re-arranged the physician's text, doubtless to better effect. Some contact between the two men is extremely likely during Handel's first years in London.<sup>73</sup>

Arbuthnot was not the only influential literary figure of the time to take an interest in the subject of the English Anthem. In June 1712 The Spectator published an essay<sup>74</sup> which, after some remarks on the impending departure of Nicolini (the leading soloist of the Haymarket opera company), turned to the subject of church music:

I could heartily wish there was the same Applications and Endeavours to cultivate and improve our Church-Musick, as have been lately bestowed on that of the Stage. Our Composers have one very great Incitement to it: They are sure to meet with Excellent Words, and at the same time, a wonderful Variety of them. There is no Passion that is not finely expressed in those parts of the inspired Writing, which are proper for Divine Songs and Anthems.

There is a certain Coldness and Indifference in the Phrases of our European Languages, when they are compared with the Oriental Forms of Speech; and it happens very luckily, that the Hebrew idioms run into the English tongue with a particular Grace and Beauty. Our Language has received innumerable Elegancies and Improvements, from that Infusion of Hebraism, which are derived to it out of the Poetical Passages in Holy Writ. They give a Force and Energy to our Expressions, warm and animate our Language, and convey our Thoughts in more ardent and intense Phrases, than any that are to be met with

- 75 The Spectator, No.405, Saturday, June 14, 1712.  
Reprinted ed. Smith, iii, p.260-1.
- 76 Many of them have remained in circulation until  
the hymnals of our own day: 'The Lord my pasture  
shall prepare'. 'When all thy mercies, O my God',  
and 'The spacious firmament on high', were all  
originally published in July-August 1712.

in our own Tongue. There is something so Pathetick in this kind of Diction, that it often sets the Mind in a Flame, and makes our Hearts burn within us. How cold and dead does a Prayer appear, that is composed in the most Elegant and Polite Forms of Speech, which are natural to our Tongue, when it is not heightened by that Solemnity of Phrase, which may be drawn from the Sacred Writings. It has been said by some of the Ancients, that if the Gods were to talk with Men, they would certainly speak in Plato's Stile; but I think we may say, with Justice, that when Mortals converse with their Creator, they cannot do it in so proper a Stile as in that of the Holy Scriptures.

If any one wou'd judge of the Beauties of Poetry that are to be met with in the Divine Writings, and examine how kindly the Hebrew Manners of Speech mix and incorporate with the English Language; after having perused the Book of Psalms, let him read a literal Translation of Horace or Pindar. He will find in these two last such an Absurdity and Confusion of Stile with such a Comparative Poverty of Imagination, as will make him very sensible of what I have been here advancing.

Since we have therefore such a Treasury of Words, so beautiful in themselves, and so proper for the Airs of Musick, I cannot but wonder that Persons of Distinction should give so little Attention and Encouragement to that kind of Musick which would have its Foundation in Reason, and which would improve our Virture in proportion as it raised our delight.<sup>75</sup>

Subsequent issues of the Spectator contained metrical psalm paraphrases, possibly intended to stimulate musical settings.<sup>76</sup>

Arbuthnot's text, which must be earlier than these, is neither metrical nor rhymed.



77 Handel also made a second verse anthem setting of the same text (Anthem 6D). See Chapter 8

78 See infra under 'Autograph'.

79 The images used almost certainly refer to the gatherings of Jews at the Temple in Jerusalem for the Passover.

Taking together the Spectator material, Arbuthnot's anthem and the publication of Divine Harmony, we can see that Handel's return to England coincided with a renewed interest in the Anthem. More specifically, Arbuthnot's text, if not his music, seems to have been Handel's starting point for his own attempt in this genre.

As Pants the Hart is the only text which Handel set in the accepted form of English verse anthem without orchestral accompaniment.<sup>77</sup> It is possible that Anthem 6C was intended for a routine service in the Chapel Royal, in which case the lack of any documentary material which would point to a specific date for its performance is not surprising. Nor can the date of the anthem be established through the style of handwriting or the watermark of the paper of the autograph.<sup>78</sup> The hypothesis that this anthem was written in 1712 soon after Handel's return to England is supported by its stylistic debt to German and Italian works, including one wholesale borrowing from a secular Italian work which sets this anthem apart from the rest of Handel's English church music.

### The Anthem

The text of the anthem has several good points. Its only obscurity is the slightly unusual use of "for" as a conjunction in verse 4. Although the text is based on only half of the psalm, it is a complete unit in itself and has a clear emotional progression. In the opening verses the psalmist expresses his need to find God: his situation is miserable and isolated, surrounded by mocking unbelievers. He remembers, in contrast, the pleasure and strength derived from the community of believers (v.4).<sup>79</sup> The recollection of this wider solidarity shakes the psalmist from his depression, and he resolves to put his trust in God.

80 I have not been able to discover any chorale melody which Handel might have used as his starting point. The search is complicated by the possible variant forms of many chorale melodies. See, for example, Larsen: Messiah, p.70 for Handel's use of a chorale melody without the initial note found in contemporary chorale sources.





Ex.13

④ Handel: Anthem 6C

Handel: Anthem 6C

Canto

Alto 2

B.c.

Mr. Elgart

As

Solo

As

pants the Hart for coo...-ling streams,

pants the Hart for coo...-ling streams,

pants the Hart for coo...-ling streams,

⑥ Zachow: Chorale Prelude "Ach Gott vom Himmel, sich herein" [Works, p.337]

Zachow: Chorale Prelude "Ach Gott vom Himmel, sich herein" [Works, p.337]

[Organ]

ped.

③ Kerl: Ricercarica [D.D.T. LM and LV, RSQ]

Kerl: Ricercarica [D.D.T. LM and LV, RSQ]

④ Caldara: Works, p.21

Caldara: Works, p.21

Canto

Alto

Basso

Organo

Mi-se-re-re me...-i, Do...

Mi-se-re-re me...-i, Do...

Mi-se-re-re me...-i, Do...

Mi-se-re-re me...-i, Do...

4 #3 7 6 # 2 9 # 6 #3

Ex. 13 (e) John Blow: My God, my God, look upon me.

S. A. T. B. (ad lib.)

My God, my God, look — u — pon me, why hast Thou for — sa — ken me?

Detailed description: This block contains the musical score for four vocal parts: Soprano (S.), Alto (A.), Tenor (T.), and Bass (B. ad lib.). The music is written on four staves, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are: 'My God, my God, look — u — pon me, why hast Thou for — sa — ken me?'. The Soprano part begins with a long note on 'My' followed by a series of eighth notes on 'God, my God, look'. The Alto and Tenor parts enter with 'My God, my God, look' and then 'u — pon me, why hast'. The Bass part enters with 'My God, my God, look' and then 'u — pon me, why hast Thou for — sa — ken me?'. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines.

me, why hast Thou for — sa — ken me?

Detailed description: This block contains the musical score for four vocal parts: Soprano (S.), Alto (A.), Tenor (T.), and Bass (B.). The music is written on four staves, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are: 'me, why hast Thou for — sa — ken me?'. The Soprano part begins with a long note on 'me,' followed by a series of eighth notes on 'why hast Thou for'. The Alto and Tenor parts enter with 'me, why hast Thou for' and then 'sa — ken me?'. The Bass part enters with 'me?, My God, look' and then 'u — pon me, why hast Thou for — sa — ken me?'. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines.

Source: British Library Add. MS 30932  
(Autograph, dated 6 - 9 - 1697)

Note values halved, barring regularised.

In addition to contrasts of mood, the text also gives opportunities for throwing the individual (the "I" of verse 4) into relief against the background of "the multitude" which, interpreted in terms of the anthem, suggested an effective use of the contrast between solo and chorus. The text has a literary symmetry, the "tears" of the second movement balancing "Why so full of grief?" in the penultimate one: Handel appreciated this symmetry and set these two sections as the extended solo movements of the anthem. His overall scheme falls into an arch pattern, the central emotional transition in verses 4 and 5 being framed by an aria and a chorus on each side.

The opening theme is rather chorale-like in outline,<sup>80</sup> and may owe something to Handel's youthful German training. This possibility receives some support from the movement's second motif, a contrapuntal "tag" which Handel may well have been taught to use in his counterpoint studies under Zachow (Ex.12). There are other

Ex. 12

[Anthem 6C]

28

Voice

B.c.

Alto 1

Bass 1

so — longs my Soul, so — longs my soul

8 4

possible derivations for the opening theme, however. It is a "subject" of the traditional Ricercar type: it is also suspiciously close to the theme of a 'Miserere' by Caldara, published in 1715. but which may have been composed earlier and known to Handel when he was in Rome in 1707-9. Ex. 13 gives Handel's opening and four possible stylistic models.

Whatever Handel's models, his opening is not seriously distant in style from contemporary English anthems; he found it easy

81 "probably", because the composition date of the  
trio is unknown. Comparison of voice ranges  
and stylistic features suggests, however, that  
it is a companion to the trio Se tu non lascia  
amore, composed by Handel in Naples in 1708.



enough to adapt his previous experiences to the needs of the English form. He had probably already explored some of the possibilities of the theme in the last movement of his secular Italian trio Quel fior che all' alba ride,<sup>81</sup> though the musical development of the trio relies on the interplay of two subjects rather than the imitative possibilities of the slower one. (Ex.14)

Ex.14 [H.G. Vol 32(ii), p.171]

Soprano  
Soprano  
Bass  
B.c.

L'oc... ca... so ha... nell' au-ro...  
E porde in un sol di la pri... ma... ve...

When composing the anthem, Handel made a couple of "false starts" at the opening (Ex.15): it is interesting that he began with a

Ex.15

(a) First sketch [Alto] [Canto]

(b) Second Sketch [Alto] [Canto]

(Voice parts shown in keyboard reduction)

free bass similar to that of the trio but ended up with the simpler imitative treatment typical of Ex.13 (b - c).

Whatever its origins, the music proved admirably suited to the context of the anthem. The imitative build-up at the opening and the suspensions both there and in the subsequent phrase "so longs my soul" (see Ex.12) convey the spirit of the text admirably.

82 See the supplement Conditions of Performance,  
p. 39 , and Appendix 6.

Handel may even have realised the possibilities of an allusive relationship between words and musical texture. Although the line "when heated in the chase" from the version of Tate and Brady is omitted, the simile describing the "longing" of the soul is clear enough to suggest pursuit (Fuga = flight) and searching (Ricerca = searching again).

The movement falls into two halves of almost exactly equal length, with a central cadence in C major at bar 27. The first half is solely concerned with building up the opening phrase, beginning with soloists and introducing the chorus with entries of the theme from bar 16 onwards. Comparison with the first movement of Croft's anthem O Praise the Lord, all ye that fear him (1709/10) described above, is instructive. Croft also leads from a "verse" opening for soloists into a chorus based on the same material, but he does not overlap the verse and chorus sections to give the build-up which Handel achieves in As pants the Hart, nor have I found the device used in any of Croft's other anthems composed before 1720. Handel's opening movement was composed for the same combination of adult soloists (Hughes, Elford, Wheely, Gates) as Croft's 1710 anthem, with the addition of a treble. This is surely no accident: Handel quickly discovered that the Chapel's strength was in Altos and Basses. Furthermore he could tell the traditional "first" Alto and Bass voices (Hughes and Wheely) from the "seconds".<sup>82</sup>

The second half of the movement begins with the soloists taking up Ex. 12 and returning the music via A minor to the tonic D minor. As the tonic is reached, the chorus re-enters and works the two themes together (Ex.16 overleaf). The device of drawing a movement together by combining two themes which have previously been heard separately is another feature which has no counterpart in Croft's anthems. Handel uses it to build up to a purely homo-

83 Described in Chapter 8

84 See Appendix 6, Elford



Ex. 16

Canto 32°

Alto 1

Alto 2

Tenor

Bass

B.c.

Chorus

As pants the Hart for cooling Streams,

so - longs my Soul for Thee, O Lord.

Chorus

As pants...

so - longs..

so - longs my Soul for Thee, O Lord.

phonic rhetorical conclusion (Bars 47-51) which is followed by a four-bar instrumental ritornello to round the movement off. We shall see from his revisions of this movement<sup>83</sup> that Handel was later uncertain about the value of this ritornello: he could not decide whether the movement was best concluded with the choral climax, or whether the memory of it should be given time to subside before the next movement.

This first version of As pants the Hart is unique among Handel's anthems in its concentration of the solo movement onto one singer. Handel was perhaps playing for safety when he gave the emotional nub of the anthem to Richard Elford. There is ample evidence for Elford's high reputation as a singer, and for the favoured patronage which he received from the Queen earlier in his career.<sup>84</sup> Handel may have known about Elford's brief attempt at a career on the stage some ten years before. The solo music in this anthem is more operatic in form than any to be found in Handel's later church music, though this may also be another sign pointing to the conclusion that this was Handel's first English

- 85 See supra, Ex. 9, for an example from Croft's anthems. A comparable movement from an ode by Eccles is 'No Albion, thou canst ne'er repay' from Inspire us, genius of the day (B.L. Add MS. 31456), which is built on a bass strikingly similar to Handel's.
- 86 See, for example, 'Se la Bellezza' from Il Trionfo del Tempo (HG Vol. 24, p.14)

anthem and that the composer's previous experience was being pressed into service in a new situation. Movements 2 and 3 are in effect a scena for Elford consisting of a short aria, an arioso and a recitative.

The aria 'Tears are my daily food' is built over an ostinato bass, a technique much cultivated in England by Purcell's successors; examples can be found in solo movements composed for Elford in Croft's anthems and Eccles's odes.<sup>85</sup> It would be a mistake to see the employment of an ostinato bass as a consciously "English" feature on Handel's part: he uses the device in the continuo arias of his earlier Italian period.<sup>86</sup> Nevertheless, contact with almost any of Croft's verse anthems would have revealed that movements of this type were an accepted feature of the English Verse Anthem. Handel's aria, although it is built upon a bass which is longer, more chromatic, and more sinewy than most of Croft's, is hardly larger in overall scale than comparable movements by the English composer. After a central cadence on the dominant at bar 24, a varied repeat of the opening material commences in the dominant key, but this quickly takes a new turn and close imitation between voice and bass heralds a return to the tonic and the opening bass at bar 41. This return is worthy to stand comparison with some of Purcell's best manipulations of the ostinato bass: theme, key and words join together to lead to focus on bar 41, and the return of the original bass under a new text emphasises the importance of the text at this point (Ex.17). The phrygian cadence at the end of the movement, mirroring that at bar 24, leads on (as the words demand) into the arioso, No.3. This arioso is designed on the same lines as Handel's operatic accompanied recitatives. An introductory instrumental ritornello provides a little time for reflection: it may be a deliberate musical rep-



# Ex. 22

[Mr.] Eilfurt

[No labels]



The staves in this example follow the arrangement of Handel's autograph.

\* See Ex. 22, immediately above.

87 HG Vol 34, p.282. None of the secondary MS copies give an instrumental specification for this obbligato part.



## Ex. 17

Opening voice part for comparison:

The musical score for Ex. 17 consists of three systems. The first system is an 'Opening voice part for comparison' in treble clef, showing a melodic line with a fermata and the word 'Tears' written below. The second system is for the Alto (Alto) and Bass (B.c.) voices. The Alto part starts at measure 37 and has lyrics: 'when thus they say, when thus they say; where, where,'. The Bass part has lyrics: 'Tears, tears, tears are my dai...ly food'. The third system continues the vocal parts with lyrics: 'where is now thy God? where,'.

resentation of the psalmist "thinking thereupon". There is a clear and effective distinction between individual isolation in the minor-key arioso and the business-like activity of the succeeding major-key recitative, as the mood of the psalm changes.

Some thought must be given to the instrumental obbligato part and its preceding ritornello.\* This part, written in the treble clef, is not labelled by Handel. Chrysander suggested that it was intended for solo oboe or violin,<sup>87</sup> but it is doubtful that an orchestral melody instrument was brought in just for these seventeen bars. The location of the obbligato part in between the voice part and the basso continuo in the autograph<sup>at the beginning of the movement</sup> also suggests that it was not intended for an orchestral instrument: we would normally expect an orchestral line to be above the voice part. This obbligato part must therefore be considered in the light of the normal instrumental accompaniment to verse anthems in the Chapel Royal. It was not uncommon for English composers to include brief thematic right-hand parts for organ in verse anthems (see, for example, the opening of Ex. 8). If Handel's obbligato part is for organ, certain practical problems arise: the distance between the two hands is

88 See the supplement Conditions of Performance

89 Practical experience has confirmed that a bass line provided by a viola da gamba blends excellently with the organ pipework of this period.

rather large, it is difficult to arrange an effective transition from "background" continuo accompaniment to obbligato part and back again, and the melodic span of the obbligato makes it difficult to provide any filling-in of the harmony without obscuring the melody line. It must be remembered, however, that the organist did not have to accompany verse anthems alone: before Handel arrived in England, the Violist and Lutenist had become established members of the Chapel.<sup>88</sup> When Croft composed Ex. 18 he was thinking

William Croft

Ex. 18

Source: B.L. Add. Ms. 17847. This example follows the layout of the original, on 2 staves. The treble solo was composed for Thomas Gethin, later one of Handel's tenor soloists. of the bass line in terms of the viol as well as the organ: the presence of the viol frees the organist from literal responsibilities in connection with the written "left hand" part.<sup>89</sup> Therefore, the organist's left hand was free to provide some filling-in where necessary, probably on a second manual, while an obbligato part was played by the organist's right hand and the bass part was provided by the viol. Given this arrangement, Handel's obbligato line is no more difficult to cope with than those in Croft's anthems and it seems most likely that it was intended for organ.

Another possibility, less likely but nevertheless worthy of consideration, is that Handel's obbligato part was intended for lute. This might be accompanied by the viol bass, a background of quiet organ chords and such chords on the lute as fell conveniently under the hands. Such a scoring would have been appropriate to the nature of the text and effective in the small Royal Chapels.

90 The Lute volumes of the Chapel Royal part-books are RM.27.a.12 and RM.27.c.14: the earliest sections of the former seem to have been copied before 1710. Three of Blow's anthems include movements with obbligato lute parts (two of these anthems are in Cfm MS 240), but the layout and tessitura of these parts do not resemble those of Handel's obbligato line.



The key (A minor) suits the lute well enough, but the notation of the part is not very characteristic of lute music. None of the lute parts in the surviving Chapel Royal part-books include a similar obligato part: the lute usually played from a figured bass part and it is more likely that the lute provided the chords to accompany an organ obligato than vice versa.<sup>90</sup> Nevertheless Shore was, to judge from the poem dedicated to him, an inventive lute maker and player, and the possibility that Handel's obligato part was intended for him can not be ruled out entirely.

'For I went with the multitude' (Ex. 19) is the clearest

### Ex. 19

Mr. Elford  
[B.c.]

18

For I went with the multitude, and brought them out in to the house of God, I went with the multitude, and brought them out

24

*Adagio*

in to the house of God, in to the house, and brought them out in to the house of God

example of operatic-style continuo-accompanied secco recitative in Handel's English church music. The declamation is correct but rather square, with a hiatus in bar 21 which looks like a weakness, though we have no way of knowing how much liberty Elford (whose strength, according to Croft, lay in giving "such a due Energy and proper Emphasis to the Words of his Musick") took with the rhythmic values. The move into more measured rhythms at the Adagio (bar 25) demonstrates Handel's overall sense of dramatic pacing, since it provides a foil for the high-spirited chorus entry which follows. His choice of "house" as the word to carry the melisma is not so appropriate and may be one of the few signs in this anthem of a "German" outlook on word-setting, especially plausible

- 91 For appropriate congeners see Zachow's 'Der Herr ist Wahrhaftig auferstanden' (Works, p.248), or Froberger's Capriccio IX (D.T.O Jahrgang X/2, Band 2). Some caution is needed when describing Handel's subject, however: if the repeated notes are run together, the theme takes on this rather different appearance: .

Ex. 21

Handel's chorus thus:

Bass

Tenor: In the voice of praise

In the voice of praise of thank-gi-ving among such as keep holy-Day, as keep ho-ly-day

- 92 Chrysander published two version of the collected Italian Duets and Trios, HG Vol.32, and for the second, revised version published in 1880 he re-numbered the duets. This duet, therefore, appeared as No. 2 in the first edition and No. 4 in the second edition. All further references will be to the second edition, where the movement drawn on by Handel for Anthem 6C appears on p.41. The duet is among the 10 probably composed before or during Handel's 'Hanover' period. See Timms: Handel and Steffani, p.376.
- 93 There is an obvious parallel with Handel's use of material from some Italian Duets in Messiah some 35 years later.



here because the English and German nouns are so similar at first sight.

In the ensuing chorus 'In the voice of praise', Handel may have been indebted, as in the first chorus, to the German keyboard and vocal models of his youth, this time in the use of a typical canzona-type repeated note subject.<sup>91</sup> The theme, with its rather heavy and frequent accents, excellently characterises the holiday-making crowd. The Jews going to the Passover feast were no more of a disciplined entity than the turba of the crucifixion narratives, and something of their rough jubilation seems to be reflected in the chorus. The opening subject and its associates generates enough energy for a short binary form fugue without any further development.

The following duet 'Why so full of grief?' is based on the music of the fourth movement of Handel's Italian duet Troppo cruda, troppo fiera.<sup>92</sup> It is the only movement from Handel's English church music of this period to be so closely based on a previous composition, and as such it provides the strongest evidence that 6C may have been Handel's first English anthem. Perhaps Handel was pressed for time in the composition of the anthem, but this need not have been the reason for his use of music from the duet. It is more likely that the text fused in his mind with the music which he had previously composed.<sup>93</sup> It is possible that the existence of the original duet influenced Handel towards setting this movement of the anthem as a duet instead of providing another solo movement for Elford. He shortened the Italian duet, adapted the music to English words and added ritornellos at the beginning and the end. There was a considerable amount of re-composition: Handel did not make his task as easy for himself as he could have done. Table 2 shows the differences in construction between the Italian and Eng-

- \* One other work, the Peace Anthem of 1749, ends with a simple 'Amen', but not as a plagal cadence.



Chapter 3 Table 2

Derivation of "Why so full of grief?" (Anthem 6C)  
from "A chi spera" (Italian duet IV)

<u>Italian Duet</u> (Bar Nos.)	<u>Anthem</u> (Bar Nos.)	
	1-6	Ritornello (Continuo)
1-18	7-24	
19-25 (Ends with cadence in dominant minor)	↑ 25-32 ↓	Recomposed but also ending with cadence in dominant minor.
26-45		
46-49	33-36	
50-54	37-40	Recomposed
55-62	41-46	Recomposed, though material from Duet bars 55-6 and 62 used in Anthem 41-2 and 45
63-80		
81-95	47-61	Some minor alterations
96-99		
100-108	62-71	1 bar G.P. rest added at bar 67
	72-77	Ritornello (Continuo)

## Translation of Italian text:

To him who hopes, O beloved eyes,

It gives no pain to sigh.

lish versions of the movement. The musical emphasis on "Why?" as the music progresses (cunningly adapted from "sospirar" = "sigh", in the Italian duet) is effective in its context and, perhaps accidentally, this phrase echoes the rhetorical ending to the first chorus of the anthem. On the whole the adaptation is successful, though perhaps Handel's inexperience of the English language may have deceived him into choosing a minor key setting of the text on account of the inclusion of the word "grief", when the general sense of the words appears to demand something more cheerful. Taking a broader musical view of the anthem as a whole, however, the use of the minor key is defensible: the duet forms a resting point between two lively choruses and the movement, as it stands, forms a splendid foil to the final chorus.

The short final chorus itself is straightforward. Three snippets of tune heard in the opening bars are worked out in imitation and combination through closely related keys and there is a good stretto conclusion from bar 37. A curious set of consecutives at bars 19-21 escaped Handel's eye even when he revised the anthem later. The plain concluding 'Amen' is unique in Handel's English anthems: a final hint of the anthem's early place in the canon.\*

If this was indeed Handel's first English anthem, it is an impressive achievement. In spite of its debt to Italian and German influences, the English would have recognised it as being within the bounds of what was expected of a verse anthem. The theme-combination in the first movement and the return of the bass theme in the second movement are features which connoisseurs of the English anthem could have regarded as attractive technical novelties but they also reinforce significant points in the verbal text. The emotional progression of the text is well represented in the

94 See Timms: Handel and Steffani, p.377

95 Although the possibility that the anthem was never performed at all cannot be ruled out completely, Handel's pencilled annotations on the autograph part point to an advanced state of preparation for a specific performance.

96 There also remains the possibility of a performance at St. Paul's Cathedral, for the Sons of the Clergy service in December 1712. The intimate style of Handel's music, however, makes it unlikely that he composed it for performance there.



music: keys and formal devices combine to lead one section into the next. The aria (No.2) leads into the arioso meditation: the more down-to-earth secco recitative, beginning in a new but related key-centre, changes the mood and leads into the chorus (No.4) and so on. The key scheme reinforces the sense of progression:

Chorus	Aria	Arioso	
d minor	a minor	a minor-e minor	
Recitative	Chorus	Duet	Chorus
C major	F major	g minor	B flat major

The fact that the anthem does not end in the same key as it began may not have great significance: this feature is shared with many of Handel's Italian Duets and Cantatas.<sup>94</sup> In these works, as in the anthem, it is the progression from mood to mood, from movement to movement, which is important. It is true that Handel's later church music generally ends in the tonic established in the first movement, partly because of the use of fixed key instruments like trumpets. It may be anachronistic to expect large-scale tonal perspectives in the music of the first part of the eighteenth century, though 'tonic' endings are the general rule in Croft's anthems.

Since there are no documentary records concerning the anthem's first performance, we can not be certain where it was performed.<sup>95</sup> The most likely site is the Chapel Royal at St. James's Palace: performance at one of the other Royal Chapels, though possible, seems unlikely.<sup>96</sup> The combination of soloists named by Handel on the first movement is much more likely to have been available when the court was in London. All four adult soloists had commitments in the other London choirs. Their periods of "waiting" were probably intricately timetabled when the court was out of London



97 See Conditions of Performance, Table 1.

98 There may have been no choral service **by** the Chapel Royal on this date, depending on whether Sundays were reckoned within the 'Play Weeks' (See OCB, p.89). The proximity of the vacation period, the fact that the court was out of town, and the Queen's illness could have provided reasons for excusing the Chapel's attendance. There is no evidence that Handel himself attended the Court at Windsor.

because it was impossible to fulfil duties at the Chapel Royal and Westminster Abbey or St. Paul's on the same Sunday morning: the list of travelling charges for 1713 suggests that there were not many days when Weely and Gates were in waiting together at the Chapel Royal.<sup>97</sup> When Handel arrived in London in 1712 the Court was at Windsor: the most likely time for the composition and performance of this anthem is during the period between the Queen's return to St. James's in December 1712 and her removal to Kensington the following May. In August 1713 the court left Kensington for a short stay at Hampton Court before proceeding to Windsor. The Queen intended to take up residence again at St. James's in December, but she was detained by ill-health and was still at Windsor when she approved the warrant for Handel's pension on December 28th. It is tempting to suggest that an anthem of Handel's might have been performed at Windsor on Sunday 27th December, but this is improbable;<sup>98</sup> there is no question of a performance in the presence of the Queen, who was seriously ill at this time.

99 See Appendix 7 for an explanation of the system used for the description of paper characteristics of the autographs and MS copies.

100 Clausen: Direktionspartituren, p.252. Another variant of the same watermark is found in an early MS copy of Handel's Brockes Passion (B.L. RM.19.g.3), but this also dates from the period after 1714 and is therefore of no help in the present context.

Autograph 99

B.L. Add 30308 f.17-26 (Complete anthem) 2 bin, 1 un.

Watermark: E\*1. This is unique in Handel's autographs.

The Hamburg conducting scores include some volumes containing pages with a different variant of this type, but they date from 1724.<sup>100</sup>

Rastrography: 16-stave @ 2 30.5

Singers named:

No.1. Mr. Hughs (Alto 1); Mr. Eilfurt (Alto 2);

Mr. Whely (Bass 1); Mr. Gates (Bass 2)

No.2. Mr. Eilfurt

No.3. Mr. Eilfurt (repeated at bar 18 "NB")

No.5. (T)hy (bo)y, (Mr) Eilfurt

No.6. Initials and names as for No.1.

The Chorus leads in Nos.4 and 6 are labelled by Handel

"Chorus partout".

In the autographs of the English church music directions in French occur only on this anthem and the "Utrecht" service: a further hint of the anthem's early date. Handel gave no instrumental specifications against the continuo/organ staves.

No.1. Handel wrote "paints" for "pants" throughout. He made two corrections to the opening bass part (See above, Ex.15), the first of which must have been rejected immediately since the barring from bar 4 is incompatible with Ex.15a.

No.3. After the end of the secco recitative (bar 30) Handel added a concluding instrumental postlude (Ex.20), which he then

Ex.20 Alto solo [Organ?]

house of God

B.c.



- 101 Presumably along with the other contents of Add.30308,  
the Dettingen Anthem and a movement from Anthem 6B (2)
- 102 Although he was never a member of the large permanent  
choirs, Warren was an established London singer who  
seems to have been called in as an "extra" when re-  
quired and is presumably the "Warren" found in the  
lists of the Foundling Hospital Messiah chorus from  
1760. He is closely associated, both as singer and  
copyist, with Boyce's Court Odes (original performing  
material now in the Bodleian Library), from which we  
can infer that he worked closely with Boyce.

crossed out (wisely, since it breaks the essential continuity to the following chorus) and wrote "seque chorus" instead.

No.4. Handel wrote "praise of thanksgiving" throughout.

No.5. The autograph is very fluent, suggesting that the adaptation from the Italian duet was worked out in advance. Nevertheless, there are noticeably more corrections in the re-composed bars 44-6.

No.6. Handel began with a layout as for No.1 (SAATBB) but the music quickly reduces to four voice parts. He may have intended solo entries at the beginning (as in No.1) but thought better of it later: hence the presence of the soloists' names as well as the chorus indication.

The autograph must have remained in Handel's possession, since he used it in the later revisions of the anthem. (see Chapter 8) It seems to have become separated from the main body of the autographs<sup>101</sup> before they passed into the hands of King George III. Add. 30308 and 30309 were originally one volume, and 30309 contains anthem copies in the hand of E.T. Warren.<sup>102</sup> Possibly Warren himself owned the autograph at some stage, though nothing definite is known of its provenance before 1877. The absence of secondary copies of this anthem perhaps throws doubt on the hypothesis of Warren's ownership: he would probably have profited by supplying copies of this otherwise inaccessible anthem if he could.

103 References to various early collections of Handel's  
works will be made in the sections describing MS  
copies. Information on these collections may be  
found in Appendix 8. . .

Manuscript copies<sup>103</sup>

Neither Granville nor Aylesford Collections include a copy of this anthem, nor is there a copy in the Barrett Lennard Collection. It therefore seems very unlikely that the autograph was available to copyists during Handel's lifetime.

A. B.L. RM.19.g.1, Vol.1, f.30-39, original pagination 1-19

Smith Collection                      No title.

Copyist: S11

Watermark: F

Rastrography: 20-stave @10 197

(c.1765)

Not an accurate transcript of the autograph: in addition to some textual errors, this copy shows evidence of an editorial hand which has "improved" notes and word underlay. It is doubtful whether the editing was done when copying took place. This MS is probably derived from an intermediate copy, now lost. The version in MS was carried forward to MSS B and C, below.

It appears from the preface to HG Vol. 34 that this copy was the source for Chrysander's text, which contains most of its errors. Chrysander believed the copyist to have been J.C. Smith the younger.

B. US - NBu M2038.H14A5, Vol.IX, p.99-126      ?Wynn Collection

Copyist: Picker A

(c.1765)

Title: "Anthem". The index page of the volume carries the following description, possibly in the hand of S10: "As pants the Hart &c. Adapted for voices without instruments, for the Chapple Royal, by command of the late King". The significance of this description, and the similar one on copy C, will be discussed



in Chapter 8. The MS is listed by Burney (Commemoration, p.46) but he accidentally bracketed this anthem with the Chandos version of Let God arise (which is in the same volume) in his list, giving the erroneous impression that a version of Anthem 11 without orchestral accompaniment once existed.

C. Ob MS Mus.d.57, p.149-174 (Hayes Collection, Vol.8)

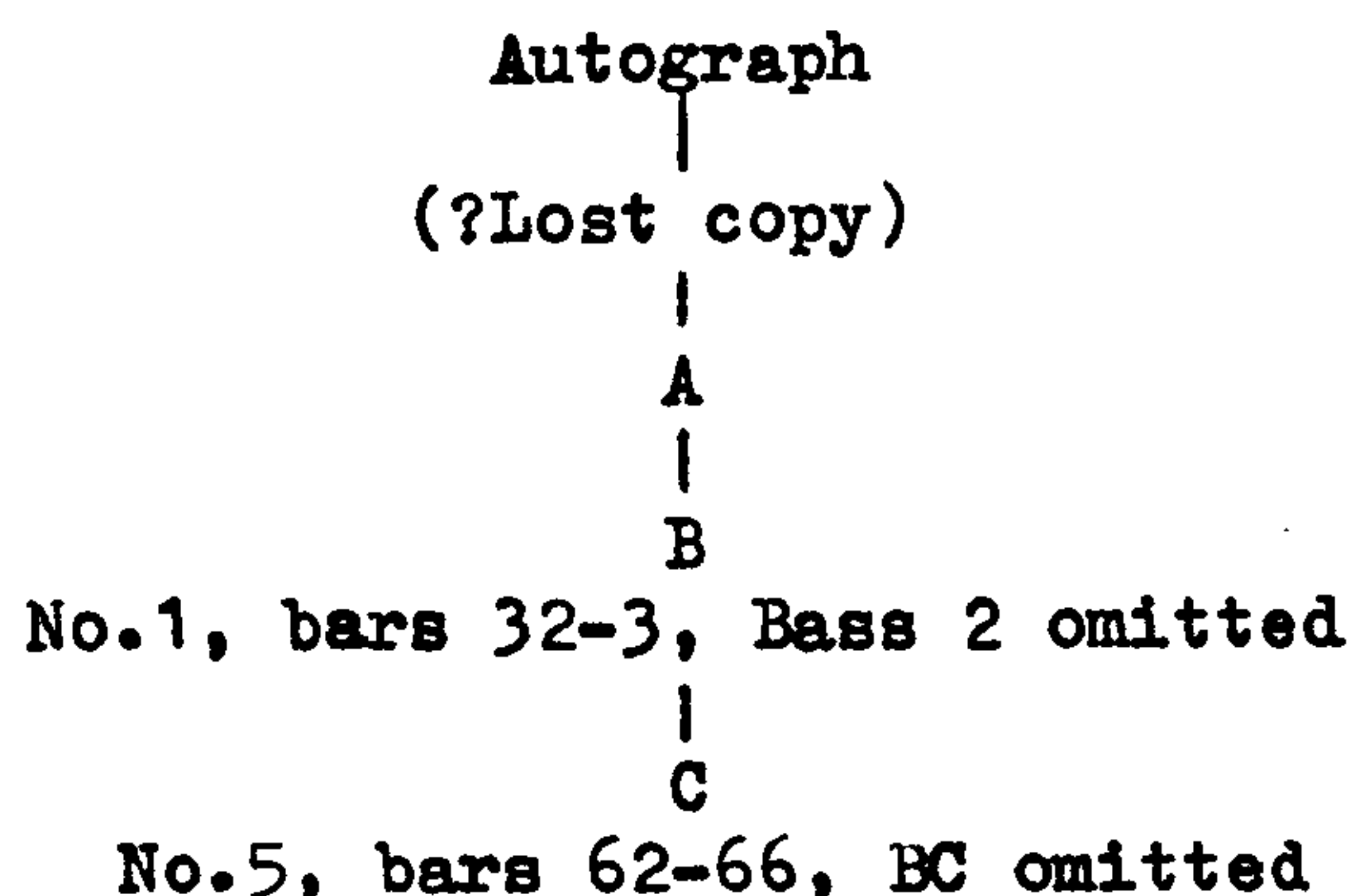
Copyists: 3 scribes, including Philip Hayes.

Watermark: F1

Rastrography: 10 stave, @ 5 94; 12-stave @ 6 96.5

Title: 'As Pants the Hart (as perform'd at the King's Chapel, in the reign of George the 2d at whose Command it was put into its present state from the original).' The section in brackets was added, presumably from the information in MS B, by Philip Hayes.

#### Relationship of Copies



CHAPTER FOUR

HANDEL'S MUSIC FOR THE PEACE OF UTRECHT

	page
Handel and the Utrecht Thanksgiving Service	98
The <u>Utrecht</u> Te Deum	108
(Table 1 p. 108-113)	
The <u>Utrecht</u> Jubilate	125
Te Deum and Jubilate: Autograph	131
Manuscript Copies	135
Handel's Ode for Queen Anne's Birthday	140
Autograph	147
Copies	148

## HANDEL'S MUSIC FOR THE PEACE OF UTRECHT

Handel and the Utrecht Thanksgiving Service

Handel's first visit to London had coincided with the establishment of a Tory ministry, buttressed by the Queen's favour and a substantial majority in the 1710 Election. This change of government had important consequences for the direction of English foreign policy. During the period of Handel's first visit the English government had already begun secret contacts with Torcy which led to the signing of the first peace articles between Britain and France in September 1711. While Handel was back in Hanover, momentous events took place in England. Early in 1712 Marlborough was dismissed from his post as Captain-General of the armed forces. After nearly a decade of concerted action by British, Imperial and Dutch forces, the alliance was broken by the "restraining orders" given to the British army in May 1712, which effectively left the rest of the allied armies at the mercy of the French during the campaigns of that year. Such developments could only be regarded with horror in Hanover, and the Elector made known his attitude towards Anne's unilateral peace-making in strong terms.<sup>1</sup> In addition to being treacherous to the alliance, the English action put in jeopardy the 1709 agreement providing a barrier in the Netherlands against the French, a matter which was of the first concern to Hanover.

It is therefore surprising to find a composer still employed by the Elector of Hanover turning to the composition of music celebrating the forthcoming peace between Britain and France, as Handel did within a few months of his return to England in the autumn of 1712. The performance of the Utrecht music eventually terminated the composer's Hanover appointment:



London 5/16 June 1713

A few days ago I wrote to you on the subject of Mr. Handel, that since His Highness was determined to dismiss him, Mr. Handel submitted to that wish, and that he desired nothing save that the affair be conducted with a good grace and that he should be given a little time here so that he could enter the Queen's service. Moreover, it seems to me from your letters that this was precisely the generous intention of His Highness. But since then M. Hattorf has informed Mr. Handel via M. Kilmansegge that his Highness had ~~dismissed~~ ~~dismissed~~ him from his service, telling him that he could go wherever he pleased. In other words, he was given notice in a way which he found particularly mortifying. I will admit to you frankly that Mr. Handel is nothing to me, but at the same time I must say that if I had been given a free hand for a week or two I could have resolved the whole affair to the satisfaction of both His Highness and Mr. Handel, and even to the benefit of the Elector's service. The Queen's doctor, who is an important man and enjoys the Queen's confidence, is his grand patron and friend, and has the composer constantly at his house. Mr. Handel could have been extremely useful, as he has been on several occasions, by giving me information of circumstances which have often enlightened me as to the condition of the Queen's health. .... You must know that our Whigs rarely know anything about the Queen's health. (In return) since the Queen is more avid for stories about Hanover than for anything else, the Doctor can satisfy her from his own information: you understand the stories to which I am referring. Afterwards they are passed on to some serious ecclesiastical gentlemen, and this has a marvellous



- 2     Hannover, Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv,  
Dep.103.I.Nr.148.     Copy by Jean Robethon of a news-  
letter from Kreyenberg (Hanoverian Resident in London)  
to Hanover.     Original in French: my translation.  
Quoted by kind permission of His Royal Highness  
Prince Ernst August of Hanover.
- 3     L.C. Silla./Drama per musica ... a Londra 1713  
Copy in the Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif-  
ornia.     The date of the Libretto appears at the end  
of the dedication: it is given in Old Style.
- 4     Handel's Hanoverian salary was withheld in 1713.  
In 1715 he received a retrospective payment for 6  
months' service from St. John's Day (Midsummer) 1712.  
(Hannover, Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv,  
76C Nr. 236a, p.393.
- 5     As will be seen, reports of the rehearsals for the  
music naming Handel as the composer, appeared in the  
London newspapers early in March.     I have not been  
able to find references to this in any of the extant  
newsletters to Hanover sent by the London Resident's  
office, but it seems safe to assume that this piece  
... of gossip would have reached Hanover fairly quickly  
by some means.

effect. .... I arranged things so that Mr. Handel could write to M. Kilmansegge to extricate himself gracefully, and I let slip a few words to inform him that, when some day His Highness comes here, he might enter his service.<sup>2</sup>

As late as the word-book for Silla, dated June 2 1713,<sup>3</sup> Handel was still described as "Sig. Georgio Frederico Hendel Maestro di Capella di S.A.E. d'Hannover", but it is clear that Handel was dismissed from his post in late May, 1713, probably while the Silla word-book was being prepared.<sup>4</sup> The Elector seems to have dismissed Handel from his service when he discovered that Handel's music was to be performed at the official Thanksgiving Service for the Peace of Utrecht. News of the forthcoming service was probably relayed to Hanover at the beginning of March<sup>5</sup> and the Hanoverian representatives in London were presumably instructed to make sure that notice of dismissal was served on Handel before the service itself took place.

Handel must have foreseen this result when he composed the Utrecht Te Deum and Jubilate. He would have been aware of the strength of feeling in Hanover, and the fact that he was willing to risk the Elector's displeasure suggests that he had decided not to return to Hanover again anyway. It is out of the question that he could have temporarily forgotten the imminence of the Elector's succession to the English throne: the Queen's illness on which he appears to have been so well informed and the shadow of possible Jacobite activity were constant reminders. Assuming that Handel did make political judgements before composing the music, it seems most likely that his reasoning was that, since a peace agreement between Britain and France was not to be prevented, he might as well turn the situation to his own advantage. Once the immediate furore had died down, the Elector himself might take

6 See supra, note (1) to this chapter. . .

- 7 Dawks, February 19, 1713. Subsequent issues of the same paper (24 and 26 February) say that it was expected that the Peace would be proclaimed on 8 March and that the Thanksgiving Service would be on 23 April. Both predictions were optimistic by about two months. The Hamburger Relations-Courier for 17 March carries a report of the composition of the music, naming Handel, under "London, 7. März 1713". If this date is in N.S., as most of the Hamburg reports are, this would be equivalent to 24 February O.S. Since the English papers first begin to mention Handel on about 7 March, it seems likely that this reference is in O.S. See Becker: Tagespresse, p.34
- 8 EP, February 21-24. A similar report appears in BM, 25 February. As noted in Chapter 2, the singing of the Te Deum at St. Paul's was a signal for the firing of the cannon on Thanksgiving Days. Reports of the 1713 Thanksgiving do not mention this happening during the service.



the same attitude to the Peace.<sup>6</sup> In the meantime, the Utrecht music would ingratiate Handel to his English patrons, the English Court and the English government.

Contemporary newspapers contain many hitherto unpublished references to Handel's Utrecht canticles. Handel completed the Te Deum on January 14, nearly four months before the Peace was proclaimed. Between these two events, news of the music leaked to the papers, though Handel is not named:

We hear that a New Service of Musick is Composing, to be used on the day that the Peace is Proclaimed, when her Majesty is expected at St. Paul's; and that the same will be very suddenly.<sup>7</sup>

The Guns are mounting on the Tower Walls, which have been repair'd for that End; and an Anthem of Te Deum is composing to be sung on the Day the Peace is proclaim'd, and the Queen's Musick are shortly to practice upon the same.<sup>8</sup>

We do not know whether Handel composed the music in response to an official invitation: if such an invitation had come through the official channels of the Chapel Royal it would have been one of Ralph Battel's last acts as Sub-Dean. It is possible that Handel composed the music speculatively, relying on rumour and reputation to win public, and later official, acceptance. Similar obscurity surrounds the generation of the Birthday Ode. It will be noted from the second extract quoted above that the Royal Musicians were involved, which suggests that the music had some official status. Whether or not Handel's music was officially supported from the start, the rehearsals made their mark on London society. Someone - Handel, other London musicians, or Tory supporters of the Peace settlement - appears to have tried hard to ensure the success of the music. There were three rehearsals in March:



- 9     Dawks, March 7. See also EP and PB March 5-7  
and BM March 11.
- 10    EP March 17-19. See also Dawks, March 19, which  
added that the music 'gives wonderful Satisfaction,  
being universally Admired.'
- 11    Becker: Tagespresse, p.35
- 12    BM, May 13.: 'Te Deum has again been rehears'd at  
Whitehall, as it is to be perform'd on the  
Thanksgiving Day.'
- 13    Boyer: Political State, vi, p.15
- 14    PB July 7-9. Also Dawks July 9.

A Te Deum, Composed by Mr. Hendel, which is to be perform'd on the Day of Thanksgiving for the Peace at St. Paul's, was Rehearsed there on Thursday (March 5) last, and this Afternoon (March 7), where was present many Persons of Quality of both Sexes; it is much Commended by all that have heard the same, and are competent Judges therein.<sup>9</sup>

London March 19. This day the Te Deum (to be sung when the Peace is proclaim'd) was rehearsed at the Banqueting House at Whitehall, where abundance of the Nobility and Gentry were present.<sup>10</sup>

The use of the Banqueting House Chapel surely indicates that by March 19 Handel's music was officially accepted in Court circles. The London correspondent of the Hamburg Relations-Courier reported that there was an admission fee of half a guinea to this rehearsal.<sup>11</sup> A further rehearsal at Whitehall followed in May,<sup>12</sup> and there was presumably at least one more last-minute rehearsal nearer to the service itself on July 7. Newspaper reports of the service give surprisingly little information about the music. Only one source mentions Handel by name, in an incidental reference to

the singing of Te Deum to excellent Musick, both Vocal and Instrumental, compos'd by the famous Mr. Hendel.<sup>13</sup>

Two other newspapers contain comments to the effect that

The Church-Musick was Excellent in its Performance, as it was Exquisite in its Composure.<sup>14</sup>

The Utrecht canticles served, as Rinaldo had done in 1710, to put Handel at the centre of London musical life. Indeed, it is probably true that the public nature of the thanksgiving service and the rehearsals brought Handel to a wider audience than his operas had done. In addition, there were two reasons why the Thanksgiving service itself attracted special attention: it was

15 PB August 30 - September 2, and September 11-13, 1712

16 Boyer: Political State, v, p. 399

17 P.R.O. LC5/155, p.224

18 Boyer: Political State, vi, p.12

long delayed, and it was planned as a Royal event. A conclusion to the peace negotiations, with attendant official celebrations, had been expected since September 1712.<sup>15</sup> In the event, the negotiations continued through the first quarter of 1713: by the time the Peace was proclaimed from St. James's on May 4, Handel's music had already been publicly rehearsed at least three times. On May 18 a proclamation was issued setting the date of the national Thanksgiving at June 16, which is the date on the printed order of service. However, this gave too short a time "for making the Preparations necessary for so great a Solemnity" and the Thanksgiving day was put back to July 7.<sup>16</sup> There was mounting interest as preparations for the day proceeded - a maypole was set up in the Strand, the Queen's statue was erected outside St. Paul's Cathedral, a new state coach was built and plans were made for a fireworks display.

There is no doubt that it was the Queen's intention to attend the Thanksgiving service at St. Paul's. Commands were issued to the militia to line the streets of the procession route,<sup>17</sup> and on July 3 the Queen sent a message to the House of Commons to the effect that:

for the greater Solemnity of that Day, her Majesty will be pleased to go to St. Paul's Church, as has been accustomed in former Times in this Kingdom, to return Thanks to Almighty God for the Blessings of Peace. .... And that her Majesty hath been pleased to give necessary Orders for providing convenient Places in the said Cathedral for the Members of this House.<sup>18</sup>

For the first time since 1708 it was planned to gather all the Estates together at the Cathedral for one service. The Queen announced at the last minute that she would not be able to attend,



19 ibid, p.13

20 ibid, p.21. This is followed (p.22-24) by a description of the elaborate fireworks displays held in the evening following the service.

21 The texts of these hymns were printed in PB, July 11-14

....

22 Boyer: Political State, vi, p.15

but otherwise the arrangements which gave the occasion a special emphasis remained unchanged:

On Monday the 6th of July, Mr. Chancello<sup>[r]</sup> of the Exchequer, by her Majesty's Command acquainted the Commons, That her Majesty not having entirely recover'd her Strength since her last Fit of the Gout, and being apprehensive that the Fatigue of going to St. Paul's Church, as she intended, may be too great, chuses rather to return her Thanks to Almighty God for the Blessings of Peace in her Chapel at St. James's; but desires, that this House will proceed to St. Paul's Church to Morrow with as much Solemnity as if her Majesty was to be in Person there.<sup>19</sup>

The occasion turned out to be magnificent, spectacular and popular: Notwithstanding the Disappointment of the Queen not going to St. Paul's, the Crouds of Spectators, as well in the Houses as Streets, thro' which both Houses of Parliament, Judges and Great Officers of State pass'd in their Way to that Cathedral, were prodigiously great, and, as it generally happens on such Occasions, made the best part of the Shew.<sup>20</sup>

The crowds included 4,000 charity children, singing specially composed hymns in honour of Queen Anne and the Peace.<sup>21</sup> Predictably, some people made a point of staying away:

It was observ'd, that very few Members of the Whig Party, in either House, appear'd at the Solemnity, which is not much to be wonder'd at; since it would have been preposterous, if not a mocking of Religion, for Men to return Almighty God Thanks for a Peace, which they had endeavoured to prevent, and still disapproved.<sup>22</sup>

Lady Cowper was one of those who stayed away, and suspected that the Queen's absence might have been diplomatic. The entry in Lady

23 Hertfordshire County Record Office,

Panshanger MS D/EP F35

24 Panshanger MS D/EP F207

25 Boyer: Political State, vi, p.13-14

26 Compare, for example, the reports in EP July 7-9  
and Dawks July 9.

27 PB July 5-7. The Bishop, Henry Compton, had also  
been Dean of the Chapel Royal continuously since  
1689 and, in earlier years, had been responsible  
for the education of Princess Anne. He died at his  
residence in Fulham.

Cowper's diary contains a backhanded hint of the significance attached to Handel's music:

7 July 1713 This Day, the Church Opera, after many Rehearsals was finish'd at the Cathedral of St. Paul. Why or wherefore the Qn was not present, Whither she cou'd not or wou'd not, is hard to know: for Court secrets are kept better than ever. "I sat not in the Assembly of the Mockers, nor rejoiced" (Jer. 15.17)<sup>23</sup>

However, an entry in the diary of Sir David Hamilton, one of the Queen's physicians, shows that the reasons for the monarch's absence were genuinely medical rather than political:

July 6 1713 I advis'd Her not to go to St. Paul's, least she Suffer'd in her Health, but rather to St. James's, & yt wd satisfy ye people and not injure Her.<sup>24</sup>

It appears from the resolutions of the House of Commons on July 6 that they expected the service to take place in the morning: they planned to take their places in the Choir at St. Paul's at nine in the morning, and the roads would be closed between that time and two in the afternoon.<sup>25</sup> There is no doubt, however, that the service took place in the afternoon. Some newspaper accounts say that the procession left for St. Paul's at 11, others give the time as noon:<sup>26</sup> it is possible that the procession formed up at eleven and moved off about mid-day. The time of the service's conclusion is given incidentally in the report of the death of the Bishop of London, who

departed this Life in the 81st Year of his Age, on Tuesday about Six in the Eveneing, the Time when the Service in Thanksgiving for the Peace was just finish'd in his Lordship's Cathedral.<sup>27</sup>

The procession to the Cathedral followed precedents from the



28 PB July 7-9 .

29 See Supplement: Conditions of Performance,  
especially plate 1.

30 A FORM OF PRAYER AND THANKSGIVING To Almighty GOD;  
To be Used On the Sixteenth Day of June next,  
throughout England, Wales, and the Town of Berwick  
upon Tweed, for the Conclusion of a Just and  
Honourable Peace between Her most Excellent Majesty  
the Queen of Great Britain, and the French King/  
By Her Majesty's Special Command. / LONDON ... 1713  
Copies in the Bodleian Library, Oxford and  
Lambeth Palace Library.

31 Lcm MS 839: Copy of Anthem in the hand of James Kent,  
with the composer's annotations, entitled:

'Thanksgiving anthem for the Peace 1713'.

The text of the anthem was printed in the appendix  
to Divine Harmony with the note: 'Composed upon the  
Peace, and Perform'd on the Day of Thanksgiving at  
St. Paul's July 7th. 1713'. This seems to be con-  
clusive proof that that anthem was actually performed  
at the service.

previous Thanksgiving services: the Speaker and 200 Members of Parliament were followed by the Judges, Barons, Bishops, Viscounts, Earls, Marquises and Dukes, the Lord President, the Lord Treasurer and the Lord Chancellor, all in their ceremonial robes.<sup>28</sup> In the Cathedral itself the seating arrangements followed the general plan devised for the services in the previous decade.<sup>29</sup>

As with the earlier Thanksgiving services, the printed order of service<sup>30</sup> gives only a limited amount of information which is relevant to the music. The canticles are the "correct" ones, Te Deum and Jubilate Deo, coming in their usual places next to the 'Proper Lessons' (Micah iv, 1-5 ; Matthew v, 1-10) in Morning Prayer. Neither in Morning Prayer nor in the following Communion Service is there a specified place for the anthem. Croft's anthem This is the Day was presumably performed at St. Paul's:<sup>31</sup> its length precludes a performance at St. James's as well. The Chapel Royal must have done double duty on the Thanksgiving day, at St. James's before the Queen and then at St. Paul's. It is probable in view of the Queen's state of health that the service at St. James's was short and included little or no music. As the Queen's intention was that the service at St. Paul's Cathedral was to proceed as if she was present, there can be no doubt of the Chapel Royal's participation there. The soloists named by Croft on This is the day are the ones which might be expected: Hughes and Elford (Altos), Freeman and Church (Tenors), Gates, Williams and Weely (Basses). These names include all of the singers named by Handel for the Utrecht Jubilate.

#### The Utrecht Te Deum

Handel's 1713 service must be considered against the background of its English fore-runners. The music of Purcell's setting

32 I have examined these two settings from the following sources: BL Add. MS. 31457 (Blow) and Mp Henry Watson Music Library MS 130 Hd4 v.235 (Turner). On reflection I decided that their individual characteristics were not sufficiently different from Purcell's to justify their inclusion in Table 1, especially since their influence on Handel's own composition is doubtful.

was easily accessible to Handel, and he would probably have known of Croft's 1709 setting by reputation even if he could not acquire the music. The settings by Blow and Turner are less likely to have come his way.<sup>32</sup> It can be taken as more or less certain that Handel subjected Purcell's version to some study before attempting his own setting of the English Te Deum text. The single documentary reference linking the two composers is, unfortunately, too late and too tenuous to provide firm evidence that Handel did study Purcell's music. It comes from a weekly newspaper, the Universal Journal, which on 11 July 1724 printed a poem in praise of Purcell with a commentary deploring 'our Extravagance .... in the case of the Italian Singers, whilst our own Masters are despised and forgotten'. This provoked a letter supporting the newspaper's defence of Purcell, published in the issue of 25 July. The anonymous correspondent admits that Purcell's music was by then old-fashioned, as its critics claimed: 'The first and chief Reflection they cast on his Musick, that 'tis Old Stile: I grant it'. But, he says, Purcell's music (like Corelli's and Byrd's) is none the worse for that, 'And had every Man the same Value for our Purcel, as the wonderful Hendel has, I had never set Pen to Paper.' Since we do not know who the author was, we can not tell the value of his evidence: it may genuinely record an opinion expressed by Handel, or it may have been merely an inference from Handel's music.

The principal formal characteristics of the settings by Purcell, Croft and Handel are shown in Table 1. The similarities between Purcell's and Handel's settings, as regards externals, are obvious. Trumpets are used at the same places in the text (except at "Thou art the King of Glory", where Handel's key-scheme takes him away from the keys available to these instruments),



Chapter 4 Table 1

Orchestral settings of the Te Deum and Jubilate by Purcell, Croft and Handel

<u>TE DEUM</u>	<u>PURCELL(1694)</u>	<u>CROFT (1709)</u>	<u>HANDEL (Utrecht 1713)</u>
<u>Verse</u>	<u>Key t/s Voices Orch</u>	<u>Key t/s Voices Orch</u>	<u>Key t/s Voices Orch</u>
(Sinfonia)	D $\emptyset$ 2 T & St	D $\emptyset$ 2 T & St	D C 2 Ob & St
1.We praise Thee	ATB Bc	ATB Bc	satb + 2 T (Full)
2.All the earth	satb Full	$\frac{2}{2}$ satb Full	
3.To Thee all Angels	a AAB Bc	b C ATB Bc	b AA, +tb St
4.To Thee Cherubim	D SS	D TT 2 Vn & Bc	A SS Bc
5.Holy, holy	ssatb Full	D $\emptyset$ 2 ssatb Full	D ssatb Full
6.Heaven and Earth	ATB, Bc, ssatb Full	C $\frac{4}{2}$ A 2 Vn & Bc	
7.The glorious	b A 2 Vn & Bc	$\frac{2}{2}$ B	a $\frac{2}{4}$ T 2 Ob & Bc
8.The goodly	f# T		e B + St
9.The noble army	D B		a SS St only

10. The holy church	G	satb	Full	∅	satb	Full	ssatb + Obs
11. The Father	D	$\frac{3}{4}$ AA	2 Vn & Bc	d	C	AAAA St	a C
12. Thine honourable	A	SS		a			F
13. Also the Holy Ghost	b	AA		d			d
14.) Thou art the King	D	$\frac{3}{4}$ ssatb	Full	D	$\frac{3}{4}$ ssatb	Full	F C ssatb St & Obs
15.)					$(\frac{4}{2})$		
16. When Thou tookest	D	AB	Bc	d	$\frac{3}{4}$ A	2 Vn & Bc	d C A Ob Vns & Bc
					$(\frac{4}{4})$		
17. When Thou hadst	b						a SATB, Unacc
(Thou didst open)							C ssatb St & Obs
18. Thou sittest	D	$\frac{3}{2}$ SS		g	$\frac{3}{2}$ ATB	Bc	C ssatb St & Obs
19. We believe	a	$\frac{3}{4}$ ATB		c		2 Vn & Bc	g C SATB Trav & St
20. We therefore pray							SATB
(Help thy servants)							ssatb
21. Make them	D	$\frac{3}{4}$ SS		g		Bc	F AT
22. O Lord, save	b	$\frac{3}{4}$ AAB		Bb	$\frac{3}{4}$ A	Ob, Bc	(Eb) ssatb

23. Govern them	D		(F)		d,g	SAT, ssatb
		<u>                    </u>				<u>                    </u>
24. Day by day	D	∅ satb Full	D 2 (2)	ATB, Bc, satb Full	D C	SST&AATB Full
						- - - - -
25. And we worship		<u>                    </u>	d,D	satb, St ssatb		<u>                    </u>
26. Vouchsafe, O Lord	d	A 2 Vn & Bc	b 2 2	A 2 Vn & Bc	b C	AA St
27. O Lord, have mercy			(f#)		f#	STB Bc
28. O Lord, let thy		<u>                    </u>			b	ssatb + Obs
29. O Lord, in Thee	D	satb Full	D 2 (4)	satb Full	D C	ssatb Full

JUBILATE

<u>Verse</u>	<u>Key t/s Voices Orch</u>		<u>Key t/s Voices Orch</u>		<u>Key t/s Voices Orch</u>	
1. O be joyful	D	$\frac{3}{2}$ A, T & Bc, 2 satb Full	D	$\frac{3}{4}$ ATB,AAB T & St, 4 satb Full	D	C A, T & St, satb Full
2. Be ye sure	a	C SA Bc	d	$\frac{3}{2}$ B 2 Vn & Bc	a	C AB V & Ob(solo) & Bc St & Obs
3. O go your way	D	$\emptyset$ satb St $(\frac{2}{2})$	??	lost A ??	F	$\emptyset$ satb St (?Obs)
4. For the Lord	d	AB Bc	d	$\frac{3}{2}$ ATB Bc	g	C AAB St & Obs
5. Glory be to	D	$\emptyset$ ssatb Full $(\frac{4}{4})$	D	2 satb Full $(\frac{2}{2})$	D	C ssaattbb Full



### Chapter 4 Table 1 Notes (1)

The table shows key-centres, metres and scorings for each movement. Some other elements, such as changes of speed, have not been included but I have provided spacers to show the approximate divisions of the text into musical movements. These divisions have to be somewhat arbitrary in Purcell's case, since the shorter sections could be grouped in a number of ways. Dotted spacers indicate separate movements which are clearly intended to run on from one to the next.

#### Sources

Purcell: There is no extant composer's autograph. I have followed the collation made by Alan Gray for Purcell Society Vol. 23 where there is any doubt over time signatures.

Croft: For the Te Deum the source is the composer's autograph, RCM Ms 840. This gives the Te Deum in its original state and differs from the modern edition (see Croft: Te Deum and Chapter 6, infra). For the Jubilate I have used BL Add. MS 17845, amended in the light of earlier performing parts at University of Birmingham, Barber MS 5007.

Handel: Composer's autograph and primary copies listed at the end of this section of Chapter 4.

#### The opening Sinfonia

In the case of Croft's Te Deum this is a separate movement. Purcell's instrumental opening runs into the opening vocal movement. Handel's setting commences with two movements with the same key and metre but different speeds, the second of which introduces the first chorus.

Abbreviations used

Key: Major keys in upper case, minor keys in lower case.

The key at the beginning of each section is given. Transitory keys occurring at the start of a section are placed in parentheses.

Time signature: Lines have been introduced into the all-figure signatures for clarity. C and Ċ, used rather ambiguously by Purcell and Croft, indicate a bar-length totalling four crochets or two minims unless indicated to the contrary.

Voices: Solo voices in upper case, chorus in lower case.

Orchestra: Bc - Basso continuo; Vn - Violin(s);

St - 4-part strings including violas; T - Trumpet;

Trav - Flute; Ob(s) - Oboes

"Full" indicated the following:

Purcell and Croft: 2 Trumpets and strings, plus Bc

Handel: 2 Trumpets, Strings, Bc, 2 Oboes, probably plus  
Bassoons in most movements.

In the columns relating to scorings, commas indicate successive scoring within a verse.

All items remain in force until superseded by the next entry below. Additions to the previous scoring are shown by +.

- 33 I have failed to discover any specific German or Latin setting of the canticles which might have exerted an earlier influence on Handel. The Te Deum was, nevertheless, a living part of both cultures. A reminder of its place in Lutheran worship can be found in the keyboard paraphrase version 'Herr Gott, dich Loben wir' included in the published editions of J.S. Bach's organ works. George I's accession to the British crown was celebrated in Hanover with the singing of a Te Deum.
- 34 The earlier versions are reprinted in Prayer Books: Edward VI, p.22-3 and 350-1





# Morning Prayer.

Glory be to the Father, and  
to the Son : and to the Holy  
Ghost ;

*Answer.* As it was in the be-  
ginning, is now, and ever  
shall be : world without end.  
Amen.

¶ *Then shall be read distinctly with an  
audible voice the first Lesson, taken out of  
the Old Testament, as is appointed in  
the Kalendar, (except there be proper  
Lessons assigned for that day :) He that  
readeth, so standing, and turning him-  
self, as he may best be heard of all such  
as are present. And after that, shall be  
said or sung in English, the Hymn called  
Te Deum Laudamus, daily throughout  
the year.*

¶ *Note, that before every Lesson the Mi-  
nister shall say, Here beginneth such a  
Chapter, or Verse of such a Chapter  
of such a Book : And after every Les-  
son, Here endeth the First, or the Se-  
cond Lesson.*

*Te Deum Laudamus.*

**W**E praise thee, O God :  
we acknowledge thee  
to be the Lord.

All the earth doth worship  
thee : the Father everlasting.

To thee all Angels cry a-  
loud : the Heavens, and all the  
Powers therein.

To thee Cherubin, and Se-  
raphin : continually do cry,

Holy, Holy, Holy : Lord  
God of Sabaoth.

Heaven and Earth are full  
of the Majesty : of thy Glory.

The glorious company of  
the Apostles : praise thee.

The goodly fellowship of  
the Prophets : praise thee.

The noble army of Mar-  
tyrs : praise thee.

The holy Church through-  
out all the world : doth ac-  
knowledge thee ;

The Father : of an infinite  
Majesty ;

Thine honourable, true :  
and only Son ;

Also the Holy Ghost : the  
Comforter.

Thou art the King of Glo-  
ry : O Christ.

Thou art the everlasting  
Son : of the Father.

When thou tookest upon  
thee to deliver man : thou didst  
not abhor the Virgins womb.

When thou hadst overcome  
the sharpness of death : thou  
didst open the Kingdom of  
Heaven to all believers.

Thou sittest at the right  
hand of God : in the Glory of  
the Father.

We believe, that thou shalt  
come : to be our Judge.

We therefore pray thee,  
help thy servants : whom thou  
hast redeemed with thy preci-  
ous blood.

Make them to be numbred  
with thy Saints : in glory ever-  
lasting.

O Lord, save thy people :  
and blest thine heritage.

Govern them : and lift them  
up for ever.

Day by day : we magnifie  
thee ;

And we worship thy Name :  
ever world without end.

Vouchsafe, O Lord : to keep  
us this day without sin.

O Lord, have mercy upon  
us : have mercy upon us.

O Lord, let thy mercy  
lighten upon us : as our trust  
is in thee.

O Lord, in thee have I  
trusted : let me never be con-  
founded.

## CHAPTER 4, PLATE 1

The text of the Te Deum, from the Prayer Book used in the  
Chapel Royal, 1710-1714

and the five-part texture with divided soprano parts imparts a characteristic sonority to the choral movements. Some differences between the two works are equally obvious. Handel's setting takes nearly twice as long to perform as Purcell's: the larger scale of Handel's music is felt both in the melodic/harmonic characteristics of the themes and in the size of complete movements. The participation of the woodwind instruments in Handel's setting also adds a new dimension: there are independent oboe parts in the tutti sections and obbligato parts for flute and oboe in the vocal solo movements. Handel's extensive employment of the woodwind instruments in the Te Deum was something of a novelty: the four previous English settings were accompanied by Purcell's orchestra of strings and trumpets, though Croft's version does include one movement with an oboe obbligato.

Presumably Handel was already well acquainted with the verbal content of the Te Deum text before he came to England, either from the Latin original or from one of the German paraphrases.<sup>33</sup> The English text from which both Handel and Purcell worked is that of the 1662 Prayer Book. Fortunately, the Chapel Royal Altar Prayer Book from the period 1710-1714 still survives today, and the text of the Te Deum from this book is reproduced in Plate 1. The 1662 version was a revision of the text found in the previous prayer books: some words were altered and colons were inserted in a mistaken attempt to make the Latin canticle conform in appearance with the conventions of Semitic poetry as found in the Psalms.<sup>34</sup> The colons fragment the appearance of the canticle which is already rather "bitty" with its 29, generally rather short, verses. The musical settings show that the composers attempted to re-combine the verses into coherent paragraphs. There is general agreement about the paragraphing of the settings by Purcell and Handel:

35 See Grove, sub 'Te Deum Laudamus'.





Ex. 1(a) (Orchestral parts omitted)

[Purcell]

[illegible]

Handwritten musical score for "The World with-out End". The score is written on four systems of five staves each. The lyrics are: "The world with-out end, e-ver world with-out end, with-out end". The notation includes treble and bass clefs, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and bar lines. The lyrics are written below the staves, with some words like "end" and "world" appearing multiple times across different staves.



Purcell:

verses 1-2 3-6 7-10 11-13 14-15 16-23 24-25 26-28 29

Handel:

verses 1-2 3-6 7-13 14-15 16-17 18 19-23 24-25 26-28 29

The clearest difference emerges in verses 16-23. Purcell sets 16-21 as a series of short solo movements, largely running on from one another, and 22-23 can be seen as a further extension of this paragraph. Handel breaks this part of the text up with an imitative chorus at verse 18, making up for lost time by running 19-23 as one movement. Verses 22-29, believed by liturgical scholars to be a later addition to the original fourth century text,<sup>35</sup> are obviously regarded as an integral part of the Te Deum by both composers, who set it as one hymn throughout. Handel in fact smooths over the join of verses 21-22 effectively by bringing the chorus in at 22 so that the petition in this verse reinforces that of the soloist in the previous one. None of the previous English settings introduce the chorus at this point. Elsewhere Handel's use of the chorus closely follows Purcell's. Both composers, for example, set verses 2 and 14 as imitative choruses, and use a mixture of contrapuntal and homophonic textures at verses 24-5 and 29. Characteristically, Purcell's imitations are short, close-worked and full of inversion or augmentation/diminution devices: Handel's are broader, less complicated and based on longer themes (ex. 1). Handel tends more towards the employment of two simultaneous subjects. It is interesting that both composers use this device at verse 14 (Ex. 2).

It is interesting to compare the composers' settings for verses 24-5. Purcell treats these verses in one movement. After a compact imitative opening he moves quickly to a more homophonic texture with the imitation theme in the trumpet parts (12 bars) which is then followed by a more extended imitative section for the closing words of verse 25 'ever world without end' (19 bars - see







36 Direct comparision can be made with Core li's  
D major Concerto, Op. 6 No. 4.

37 At Bars 17-24, 40-46 and 25-32 respectively.

38 This is not true of the Jubilate, which contains  
genuine solo movements.

The first movement shows the contrast between the approach of the two composers at its greatest. Both composers begin with instrumental introductions. Purcell's short prelude is based on the music of the subsequent vocal entries: whether the vocal phrases were moulded by the capacities of the brass instruments or the instrumental material was controlled by the syllabic demands of the vocal parts, there is a clear derivation of one from the other. Handel's vocal and instrumental material is more independent. The Te Deum begins like a Corelli concerto, with a short arresting Adagio introducing a fugal Allegro movement.<sup>36</sup> The latter eventually becomes the accompaniment to the first chorus entry: the choral and orchestral elements are not thematically related. The chorus entry therefore adds a new rich contribution to a movement which is already under way in its own right, the climactic effect of this entry being reinforced by the first entry of the trumpets. All three of Handel's characteristic textures (homophonic, imitative and one-part-against-the-rest) are represented in the choral section of the movement.<sup>37</sup>

It is significant that Handel, unlike Purcell, Blow and Turner, chose to give the opening verses to chorus rather than soloists. The proportion of chorus music in Handel's setting is much larger than in its predecessors: indeed, the balance has swung sharply the other way, for the amount of solo work in Te Deum is very slight. There are no really extended solo movements: only the opening of No. 4, an aria type interlude for alto lasting a mere 14 bars, approaches this category.<sup>38</sup> Purcell's version of "Vouchsafe, O Lord" (45 bars) is, in fact, much closer to an aria in spirit and length than anything to be found in the Utrecht Te Deum. Handel's setting of the same text, beginning with an alto duet and then building up through a solo ensemble to the choral

39 The motifs with which Handel began the movement had already been used by him in arias from the Italian cantata Ero e Leandro and from Rinaldo.

40 As noted in Chapter 2, Purcell's Te Deum and Jubilate were not composed with St. Paul's in mind, pace Tudway's preface to BL Harl. MS 7342.

41 If the effect of this section is rather blunted for modern audiences, this is partly because of our familiarity with the similar passage at 'Since by man came death' in Messiah.

conclusion, is both shorter and more weighty in texture than Purcell's.<sup>39</sup> Handel's use of choruses and ensembles where Purcell uses soloists is so consistent that it must have been a definite policy: perhaps, if Handel heard Purcell's setting performed at the Sons of the Clergy service in 1710 or 1712, he decided that Purcell's treatment was not robust enough for the acoustic conditions at St. Paul's.<sup>40</sup> Another possibility is that Handel wrote the Te Deum before he received official approval for the music, and therefore played for safety until he knew that the best Chapel Royal soloists would be available. Whatever the causes, the emphasis on the chorus gives the Utrecht Te Deum a different character from its predecessors.

The greater use of the chorus is complemented by more extensive orchestral participation. Purcell's Te Deum has extensive verse sections with only basso continuo accompaniment: in Handel's setting orchestral accompaniment is almost continuous and its removal becomes a striking effect - at, for example, "O Lord, have mercy upon us" in No. 8, or the beginning of the chorus "All the earth doth worship Thee" in No. 1. In the latter instance Handel was "composing out" an idea implicit in Purcell's setting: Purcell's 2-bar arpeggio representing "all the earth" being gathered together becomes Handel's 14 bar fugal exposition. Handel's musical word-painting of "everlasting" is another idea developed from Purcell's setting. The withdrawal of all accompaniment (including the basso continuo) at the words "When Thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death" in No. 4 is a special case. This is a dramatic gesture set against the succeeding tutti outburst: "Thou didst open the kingdom of heaven". There is nothing comparable in Purcell's setting and it must have been startling to the 1713 audience.<sup>41</sup> It occurs in the course of one of the most successful sections of the Utrecht



42 Burney: Commemoration, p. 29 (First Performance)

Burney remarks that Handel's setting, besides being in a minor key, was also "slow, and plaintive". In fact, Handel added no speed indication to No. 2.

setting: throughout Nos. 4 and 5 Handel links the short sections together convincingly. The autograph shows that he was more than usually anxious to get things right: he discarded two versions of the unaccompanied bars of No. 4 and subjected the preceding alto solo to critical revision, removing a couple of bars of redundant matter.

Handel's *Te Deum* explores a wider range of keys than Purcell's. In this respect his work comes closer to Croft's setting, which returns to the safety of the D major tonic far less frequently than Purcell's. Croft's version anticipates Handel's plan specifically in its use of B minor (rather than D minor) for "Vouchsafe, O Lord". However, the constant return to the tonic is so obvious a weakness of Purcell's plan that Handel may have worked out his own scheme independently: it would not be surprising if he came to some of the same answers as Croft. The movement away from the tonic at verses 3 and 7 in Handel's setting was an extension of features found in the previous settings: none of them, however, went as far from the tonic as Handel did in verses 11-21, although Croft anticipates him slightly with a more adventurous scheme than his predecessors.

Some insight into Handel's attitude to word-setting can be gained from movements 2 and 3 (verses 3-15). Burney's suggestion that Handel set verse 3 in the minor key because he 'confined the meaning of the word cry to a sorrowful sense'<sup>42</sup> seems a little less likely when we remember that all four previous English settings began this verse in the minor, though they ended in the major: none of them, however, saw the opportunity which Handel seized upon of bringing in a chorus entry for "the heavens and all the powers therein" - lower voices for "powers" in contrast to alto "angels". The following verse ("To Thee cherubim") as set by

- 43 BL Harl. MS 7342, f.12v. Tudway's description is not entirely accurate: 'Heaven and Earth are full of the Majesty of Thy Glory' is divided between solo voices and chorus.
- 44 Handel followed exactly the same treatment in his subsequent settings of the Te Deum, running verse 6 on from verse 5.

Purcell was singled out by Thomas Tudway in 1720 as one of the models of English word-setting, as

such a glorious representation, of ye Heavenly Choirs of Cherubins, & Seraphins, falling down before ye Throne & Singing Holy, Holy, Holy &c As hath not been Equall'd, by any Foreigner, or Other; He makes ye representation thus; He brings in ye treble voices, or Choristers, singing, 'To thee Cherubins, & Seraphins, continually do cry; and then ye Great Organ, Trumpets, ye Choirs, & at least thirty or forty instruments besides, all Join in most excellent Harmony, & Accord; The Choirs singing only the word Holy; Then all Pause, and the Choristers repeat again, continually do cry; Then ye whole Copia Sonorum, of voices and instruments, Joine again, & sing Holy; this is done 3 times upon ye word Holy only, changeing every time ye Key, & Accords; then they proceed altogether in Chorus, with Heav'n & Earth are full of the Majesty of thy glory; This most beautifull and sublime representation, I dare challenge, all ye Orators, Poets, Painters &c of any Age whatsoever, to form so lively an Idea, of Choirs of Angels Singing, and paying their Adorations.<sup>43</sup>

Blow and Turner followed Purcell's model closely at this point, but Croft anticipated Handel by rejecting the repetition of "Continually do cry" in favour of bringing the "Accords" on the repetitions of the word "Holy" next to each other. There the similarity between Croft and Handel ends, for Croft goes on to set verse 6 as a separate movement for alto solo (a novel treatment of this text), while Handel regards 'Holy, holy, holy' as introductory matter to verse 6 and proceeds in a continuous choral sequence.<sup>44</sup> Handel preserves Purcell's representation of the



Cherubin and Seraphin by two treble parts (Croft had cast them as tenors) and his deleted sketch for bar 22 suggests that his original idea was melodically not unlike Purcell's (Ex. 3).

Ex. 3

21

[Handel's sketch f. 12v]

Probable continuation  
chorus (D.B.)

S.1 solo  
con-tin-u-ally do cry Ho...ly

S.2 solo  
con-tin-u-ally, con-tin-u-ally do cry Ho...ly

B.C.  
con-tin-u-ally, con-tin-u-ally do cry Ho...ly

compare Purcell:

S.1 solo  
con-tin-u-ally, con-tin-u-ally do cry Ho...ly

S.2 solo  
con-tin-u-ally, con-tin-u-ally do cry Ho...ly

B.C.  
con-tin-u-ally, con-tin-u-ally do cry Ho...ly

Handel follows Purcell's plan at the opening of No. 3 with short florid sections for solo voices culminating in the chorus entry at 'The Holy Church'. His treatment of the chorus at verse 10 itself is more extended than Purcell's and the linking of verses 10-11 is a special feature of Handel's setting. It seems that Handel understood the text here better than his English predecessors: the list of the persons of the Trinity in verses 11-13 is a statement of what the Holy Church of verse 10 is acknowledging. The rest of No. 3 follows Purcell's model, but with the chorus used on a much grander scale. Handel sets verse 15 imitatively where Purcell treats it shortly in simple homophony. The dramatic Adagio interruption at bars 137-140, which suddenly takes the music out of key with a new dominant seventh and diminished

45 See Chapter 3, Ex.1

46 "Well-tried" in odes rather than church music, of course, since trumpets regularly participated in the court odes: it is interesting that Eternal Source of Light Divine, Handel's own ode, begins with the alto/trumpet combination. Some of Croft's anthems composed before 1712, for example O clap your hands and Blessed be the Lord my strength, contain alto solo movements with organ accompaniment including a right hand part for the Trumpet stop. It is worth noting that, while Handel follows Purcell in beginning the Jubilate with the alto/trumpet combination, Blow, Turner and Croft begin with a three-voice verse combination and confine the use of the trumpets to the introduction and the choral sections.

47 HG Vol. 38, p. 19-27

seventh, was an afterthought. Verse 14 originally finished at bar 134, the orchestral continuation leading to the dominant of F major and thus preparing for the soprano entry at what is now bar 141. The revision is not wholly a happy one: this is one of the few places where Handel seems to be striving for effect rather than making an effective response to the text.

One further movement, No. 5, calls for comment. It almost provides a compendium of the features of Handel's setting. The instrumental prelude, flute obbligato against quaver string accompaniment, owes something to the operatic arioso and something to Zachow.<sup>45</sup> Taking the movement as a whole we find Handel paragraphing verses 19-23 in a completely logical way and one which, as it happens, had not been tried by his English predecessors. He saw the opportunity for a three-fold alternation of solo and chorus voices, skilfully progressing through various tonal centres while preserving an overall G minor tonic. Each time the chorus enters it heightens the effect of the preceding solo sections, giving dramatic support without interrupting the flow.

### The Utrecht Jubilate

The Jubilate, Psalm 100, has a much more straightforward text than the Te Deum. Both Purcell and Handel adopted the obvious plan of setting the verses as separate movements. As in the Te Deum, Handel's time-scale is larger, choral participation is increased, and his key-scheme is more adventurous. In the opening movement Handel followed Purcell by using the well-tried English combination of alto voice and solo trumpet.<sup>46</sup> His manner of leading into the chorus entry also echoes Purcell's. The leading motifs of the movement are re-worked by Handel from the opening movement of his own D major Laudate Pueri, written in Italy in 1707.<sup>47</sup>

48 The non-rising leading note on beat 4 suggests a slight affinity with the 'Almira' cadence noted by Terence Best and Anthony Hicks (See Hicks: RMA, p.86.

Compare also the beginning of Handel's Italian Duet A miravi io son intentio, HG xxxii (2nd.ed.), p.68 possibly composed at Hanover.

49 Chorus theme at bar 1, orchestral theme at bar 15. Handel's way of working up this material looks forward to the big choruses of Israel in Egypt, composed a quarter of a century later.

50 First heard in the orchestra at bar 109.





Ex. 4 [Orchestral parts omitted]

[illegible]

37

ness, Serve the Lord with glad- ness, be- fore his pre- sence with a song, and be- come - - - - - ness, Serve the Lord with glad- ness, pre- sence with

Unlike his English predecessors, Handel set the second half of verse 1 as a separate movement: the concerto-like first movement gives place in No. 2 to contrapuntal ingenuity. The opening theme of No. 2, carrying the first clause, is first worked in a fugal exposition; it then goes into the orchestra as an accompaniment to a new cantus firmus type long-note theme carrying the second clause. Both themes are then worked ingeniously together (Ex. 4). Although this treatment has links with Handel's German and Italian past, the effect is not far removed from Purcell's combination of a theme with its own augmentation at Ex. 1(a).

In the duet No. 3 Handel gives himself the first real opportunity in the canticles for extended solo writing. For the first time the names of soloists appear on his music: Hughes and Weely, a well-tried Chapel Royal combination for whom Handel also provided a duet in the Birthday Ode Eternal source of Light divine. It is interesting that Handel had found out that Hughes, and not Elford, was Weely's regular duet partner: the Chapel's practice seems to have been to match 'first' basses with 'first' altos. Handel's movement is a straightforward binary structure with a central ritornello. A certain angularity about the end of bar 1 in the oboe part suggests that the music may have been re-worked from an earlier composition, possibly from the Hamburg period.<sup>48</sup> The long and somewhat archaic choral movement which follows (No. 4) may also have been worked up from previous material. The first half of the movement is a free fugue based on the alternation and combination of themes first heard independently in chorus and orchestra.<sup>49</sup> The second part of the movement, beginning at bar 93, introduces a new theme for the verse's second clause, which also quickly acquires a complementary contrasted subject.<sup>50</sup> The subjects both here and at the beginning of the movement are intro-

51 In the Te Deum within No. 1, and Nos. 6-7;  
in the Jubilate Nos. 1-2.

52 A similar passage occurs in the Te Deum, No. 3, bars  
134-137. As it happens, the text as it now stands  
also ends with the word 'glory', ~~there~~, but Handel's  
original version ended 'O Christ'.



duced immediately in stretto, yet even so Handel contrives to make the stretto over the pedal notes in the last bars of the movement sound more final than what has gone before.

The trio, No. 5, is rather more Purcellian than the duet No. 3, both in its melodic contours and in its adherence to the tonic. The fragmented bass line at the opening might almost have been composed by Croft, though it is unlikely that Croft would have thought of using the chromatic scale from bar 4 to generate the broadening-out of the movement which Handel achieves from bar 30 onwards.

The final choruses, Nos. 6 and 7, form a free prelude and fugue in Handel's most spacious manner.' The idea of coupling of contrasted choruses had already been used three times by Handel in the canticles.<sup>51</sup> The eight-part chorus in No. 6 is used with a concentrated power heightened by contrast with the orchestral interludes for upper strings only: the closest comparable movement, No. 6 of the Te Deum, makes its mark by dividing the chorus rather than concentrating it. It is impossible for the modern listener to avoid hearing pre-echoes of Messiah in No. 6 of the Jubilate, and the similarity of the music may have been generated by the similarity of the texts. In Messiah the words are 'Glory to God in the highest', in the Jubilate they are 'Glory be to the Father': in each case they drew from Handel a choral outburst with a halo of string echoes.<sup>52</sup> It is interesting that he did not attempt to re-introduce music from previous movements at the words 'As it was in the beginning', in view of the fact that he used this device in the Gloria or each of his three large-scale Latin Psalm settings. Instead, themes are combined and textures are contrasted in the last movement of the Jubilate with a dramatic sense which must have seemed totally new to the London public: the massive rhetorical ending with its pauses and long final stretto is a fitting

- 53 Burney: Commemoration, p. 35 (First Performance).
- 54 See Deutsch: Handel, p.327-9. The reports of the service do not mention who directed the music, though the singers named (Powell, Waltz and Rowe) were part of Handel's company for the Oxford oratorio performances. The strongest evidence suggesting that Handel was responsible for the performance is circumstantial: at the 1713 Oxford Act the Professor of music and Organist of the University Church was paid for a similar performance, but there is no payment in 1733. (Oxford University Vice-Chancellor's Accounts, Bodleian Library, W.P.B. 21(6), 1697-1735).
- 55 See the MS organ scores BL RM.19.a.14 and Add.MS 27745, both of which associate the Dettingen Te Deum with the Utrecht Jubilate. The Sons of the Clergy announcements of 'Mr. Handel's New Te Deum and Jubilate' from 1744 onwards (See Appendix 4) refer to the same combination.
- 56 Deutsch: Handel, Op.217 .
- 57 See Appendix 5, B15.
- 58 See Appendix 4. There is no evidence for a performance of the Utrecht music at the Sons of the Clergy Festival before 1731: the oft-repeated statement, (derived from Hawkins: History, ii, p.745-6, & relayed via W.H. Cummings to Pearce: Sons of the Clergy) that Handel's setting superseded Purcell's at the Festivals from 1713 onwards is not supported by the evidence.
- 59 Walsh's title page describes the Te Deum as that 'Perform'd before the Sons of the Clergy'. See infra, 'Printed Edition', and also Smith and Humphries: Handel, p.157.

culmination to Handel's first English essay in 'his grandest and most magnificent style'.<sup>53</sup>

There is no evidence that Handel ever performed the Utrecht music again after the Thanksgiving Service of July 1713, though he revived the Jubilate with a reduced scoring at Cannons. It is possible that he may have been responsible for a performance of the Te Deum and Jubilate on 8 July 1733, during his visit to Oxford,<sup>54</sup> but the autograph bears none of Handel's characteristic annotations which would suggest a revival under his direction. He composed three further settings of the Te Deum for the Chapel Royal, none of which has an accompanying Jubilate: the possibility that Handel revived the Utrecht Jubilate alone at some stage to complement one of these Te Deums, although remote, can not be discounted completely. Certainly the Dettingen Te Deum and the Utrecht Jubilate were coupled in later performances under other hands.<sup>55</sup>

The Utrecht canticles were within the resources of many performing groups in London and the provinces: they became a popular alternative to Purcell's service, though not immediately. Only one performance apart from the composer's is known before the 1730's, at Bristol on St. Cecilia's Day 1727.<sup>56</sup> Nathaniel Priest, who was responsible for this performance, was a former Chapel Royal chorister<sup>57</sup> and presumably obtained the music through Chapel connections. The fortunes of the music underwent a major revolution in the 1730's. The success of the performance at the Sons of the Clergy Festival service in 1731<sup>58</sup> was almost certainly a major factor in persuading Walsh to print a score of the Te Deum and Jubilate.<sup>59</sup> To judge from the frequency of the advertisements, Purcell's D major Te Deum and Jubilate had enjoyed a regular long-term demand, and Handel's setting now took its place alongside Purcell's. The two works together became the foundation of the repertoire for

60 RIIARC, v, p.52 and Deutsch: Handel, p.401-3.



festival services as the expansion of provincial music meetings took place. Handel's canticles formed part of the first programmes for the Salisbury St. Cecilia performances (1742) and for the Dublin performances in aid of Mercer's Hospital (1736).<sup>60</sup>

Just as Purcell's canticles were joined by the Utrecht ones, so the latter in their turn had eventually to share their place in popular esteem with Handel's own Dettingen Te Deum. In provincial programmes it is often impossible to tell which of Handel's settings was performed from the 1740's onwards unless the music is identified as Handel's 'Old' or 'New' Te Deum. In spite of the competition, however, there is no doubt that the Utrecht setting remained fairly constantly in favour throughout the eighteenth century, and the printed edition was maintained by Walsh and his successors. Handel's music, originally a success with the influential and the cognoscenti of the metropolis in 1713, became equally successful in a different way with a different type of audience in a later generation.

61 As already noted in the previous chapter, Handel added French instructions to only two English Church Music autographs - the Utrecht canticles and Anthem 6C.

Autograph

B.L. RM.20. g.5 f. 1-73 (Te Deum and Jubilate lacking 23 bars of the Jubilate)

Te Deum: 2 bin, 2 un, 7 bin, 1 un;

Jubilate: 2 bin, Ll (? = 1 un.), 2 bin, 1 tern, 1 fol., 1 tern.

plus 1 additional Fol. (f.73) - see below.

Handel numbered each gathering to f.51

Watermarks: Ba, Bb, Dl

Rastrography: f.1-12, 66-72 12-stave @ 4 72

Remainder 16-stave @ 4 52

Singers named: Jubilate 3 Mr. Hughs  
Mr. Whale

5 Alto 1: Mr. Eilfurth  
Alto 2: Mr. Hughs (Written over another name)  
Bass: Mr. Wahle (deleted) (Mr.) Gaetz

NB. The two alto parts are reversed in H G xxxi, p.66.  
Handel began Hughs' part in the Tenor clef, but corrected it to the alto clef before the first entry in his part.

Two general features of the manuscript are of interest:  
the use of directions in French, presumably intended for the copyist,<sup>61</sup>  
and the general use of the flat sign, as an alternative to the natural, to denote the correction of a sharp by a semitone. The naturals in the autograph may be later additions: there have certainly been some additions to the word underlay, mainly by a copyist (or copyists) trying to clarify word-setting in the choruses.

The make-up of the MS reveals several interesting features. Handel had two stocks of paper by him, ruled 12-stave and 16-stave. All appears to have gone smoothly with the composition of the Te Deum until bar 21 of No. 2. Handel discarded his original continuation here (See Ex. 3 above), which probably ran on to a sheet originally following f.12, now discarded. Probably Handel decided

on the revision almost immediately and proceeded, using the other paper, with the version now found on f.13 (This begins at bar 22 of No. 2). Certain alterations and copying errors elsewhere suggest that Handel was working from pre-existing sketches, the clearest example occurring at bars 4-5 in No. 6 of the Jubilate where a little surgery was needed to rectify an omitted half-bar: since the rest of the movement is barred correctly, the original  $1\frac{1}{2}$  bar version must be a mistake.

The Te Deum is dated at the end "S.D.G. G.F.H. Londres ce 14 de Janv. V(ieux). st(yle). a 1712". The last page of the Jubilate has been cropped by a binder and all that is visible now is "S.D.G. G.F. Hendel ... 1713". If the second date is to be taken in old style as well, the composition was not completed until after 25 March 1712/3. The fact that newspaper notices of the rehearsals make no specific mention of the Jubilate is not conclusive evidence that it did not exist before 5 March, since "Te Deum" seems to have been used to cover the canticles as a whole and Jubilates are hardly ever referred to separately in reports of previous thanksgiving services. The Jubilate does not run on in the same binio from the Te Deum, but the identical paper types suggest that the composition of the Jubilate was commenced very soon after that of the Te Deum. There is, however, a clear break within the autograph of the Jubilate which suggests that Handel suspended work on it for a time, so that the Jubilate may not have been completed very soon after the Te Deum. The evidence for the interruption of the Jubilate is:

(1) The cessation of Handel's numbering of the manuscript's sections. By the time he had reached the second chorus of the Jubilate, Handel obviously decided that the manuscript needed some sorting out and he numbered the previous gatherings. When he re-



turned to the composition he did not continue this numbering, even though succeeding gatherings were irregular.

(2) The presence in the autograph of a sheet carrying a different ending to No. 3 (now f.73). This does not join up with the foliation of the final version, nor can it be made to fit on to it musically. The sheet appears to start with a new bar at the equivalent of bar 28½: it is thus wrongly barred for any link with no. 3 as it now stands. Therefore it must be the remains of a former version of the movement, rejected in favour of the present one. If the discarded movement was short (c. 20-24 bars, on a par with the solo sections of the Te Deum) f.73 could well be the survivor of a binio forming the third gathering of the Jubilate, thus:

	[	Conclusion of No. 2	
.		[	beginning of duet (first version), lost
			present f. 73

The first two leaves were probably discarded accidentally at a later date along with the rejected third leaf - hence the present lacuna in the MS following f. 50.

(3) The sudden appearance of soloists' names in the autograph from the beginning of the present No. 3 (f. 52). Up to this point Handel had written "Solo" (or, more usually, "Sol") against the solo voice parts, as if he was not sure who would be available. The leading Chapel Royal soloists are then named for the duet and the trio (Nos. 3 and 5) of the Jubilate. It seems extremely likely that Handel re-wrote No. 3 on a more extended scale to make use of the Chapel Royal singers to best advantage. There is one hint on f. 73 that the original setting of number 3 was more modest: it lacks a closing instrumental ritornello.

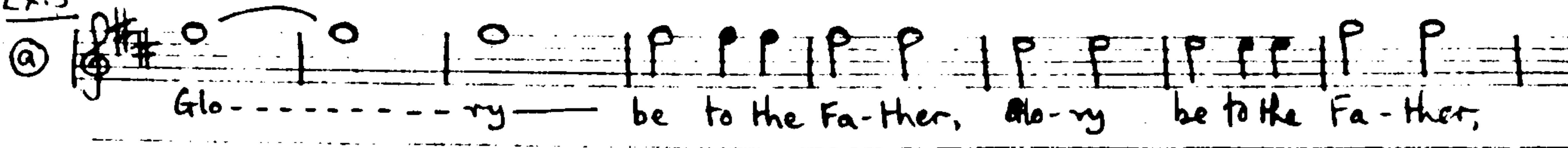
Taken together, this evidence points to the conclusion that

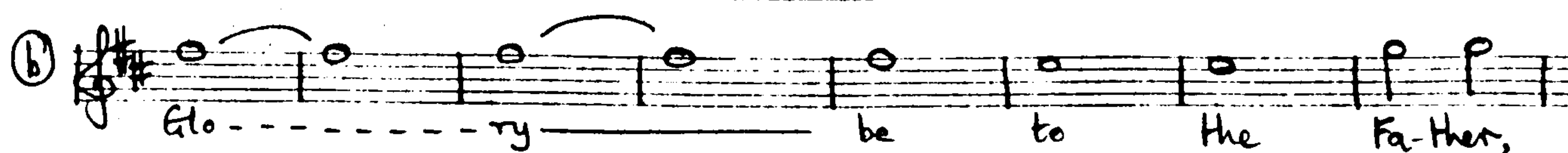
62 Chandos Anthem 1, No. 7. See Chapter 6.

Handel broke off the composition of the Jubilate after he had completed the original version of No. 3, and that by the time he returned to it, the Utrecht service had in some sense become "official". He was therefore able to count on, and write for, the best Chapel Royal soloists.

A slight mystery attaches to Handel's alteration to the word-setting at bars 28-35 of the Gloria (No. 6) of the Jubilate. The process of alteration is quite clear: Handel originally wrote the rhythm of Ex. 5a in all parts and then changed it to Ex. 5b. He altered the orchestral parts in the autograph and also the vocal bass part, which was the only voice part under which he had provided a text. His intention was clearly that the upper voice parts should follow the revised rhythm as well, though the secondary manuscript copies merely reproduce the mixed final state of the autograph. When did Handel make this alteration? It was definitely made before 1720: the Cannons version of the movement<sup>62</sup> and Tudway's copy both attest that the revision had been made by then. It is possible that the alteration was a second thought on Handel's part when he was re-scoring the movement for Cannons, but it seems much more likely that it was a last-minute alteration in 1713. The evidence for this comes from the early Copy A (see infra), where the copyist reproduced Handel's original version and then himself revised the orchestral parts and vocal bass part.

Ex. 5

(a) 

(b) 

Copies

A B.L. Add. MS 5323 Score of Te Deum and Jubilate

Copyist: RM1

Watermarks: D1, Bb, Ba

Rastrography: 12-stave, @ 4 72-72.5; 16-stave @ 4 52.5

Identical paper characteristics to the autograph. This must be a very early copy and, although it does not carry any marks definitely in Handel's hand, it may even have originated as a fair copy conducting score for the first performance. It seems to have some connection with the early copies of Teseo and Pastor Fido (now RM 19.e.6 and RM.19.e.4), the former in the hand of RM1 and the latter, including Handel's pencilled annotations connected with later performances, probably in the same hand. The copyist's own correction to No. 6 of the Jubilate suggests that he was working closely with Handel. The copyists of Add. 5323 and RM.19.e.4 are incorrectly identified by Larsen.

B B.L. Harl. MS 7342, f.310-379 (olim p. 591-731)

Score of Te Deum and Jubilate, entitled "The Morning Service viz Te Deum (&) Jubilate Compos'd by Mr. Hendale by the Queen's Order for ye Thanksgiving On ye Peace 1713 And perform'd in St. Paul's Church, Accompanied wth Instrumental Music."

This MS is the concluding entry in Thomas Tudway's sixth and last volume of English Church Music, collected and copied for Edward, Lord Harley, 1715-1720. This volume is dated 1720.

Copyist: Thomas Tudway

Watermark: D1

Rastrography: 12-stave @ 3 56.5, @ 2 31



C York Minster Library MS M96 Score, Jubilate only. (c. 1720)

Copyist: J.C. Smith senior

Watermark: Cb

Rastrography; 12-stave, @ 2 30.5

Title: Jubilate, Sr. Handel (MS D and E are headed "Jubilate" only)

A fair copy score, apparently never associated with a score of the companion Te Deum.

D LCM MS 888 Score of Jubilate only (c. 1735)

Copyist: J.C. Smith senior

Watermark: Cc

Rastrography: 12-stave, @ 2 32.5

Similar to C, above, but of later date.

Formerly the property of Sir George Grove.

E Mp Henry Watson Music Library (Flower Collection) MS 130 Hd4v. 172

Score of Jubilate only, from the Aylesford Collection. There are no accompanying orchestral parts. (c. 1735)

Copyist: S2

Watermark: Cc

Rastrography: 12-stave, @ 2 74.5

Similar to MS C and D above, but a less careful copy.

F Cfm Music MS 814 (Lennard Collection, Vol. 32)

Score of Te Deum and Jubilate. The volume commences with the Cannons Te Deum in B flat major and the Cannons Jubilate (Chandos Anthem 1). These are followed by the Utrecht and Caroline canticles, with new pagination 1-130. The Utrecht service occupies p. 1-108. (c. 1738/9)

Copyist: J.C. Smith senior

Watermark: E<sup>+</sup>a

Rastrography: 20-stave, @ 5 88 and @ 2 23.5

This MS, like copies G and I below, is a large 'library' score.

G B.L. Egerton MS 2914, f.1-68 (olim p.1-135) Granville Collection

Score of Te Deum and Jubilate (c. 1740)

Copyist: J.C. Smith senior

Watermark: C<sup>+</sup>f

Rastrography: 22-stave @ 2 23.4-24, 16-stave @ 2 30.5

H Mp Henry Watson Music Library (Flower collection)

MS 130 Hd4 v. 327-344, 347

Set of parts, vocal and orchestral, for Te Deum without Jubilate. Aylesford Collection. No surviving score traced.

(c. 1744-6)

Copyist: S2

Watermark: ?Ch

Rastrography: 12-stave, @ 4 75

Interesting for the editorial treatment of the bass lines, extracting a bassoon part in the chorus movements where Handel provided no independent part, and also for the treatment of bars 107 et seq. of the Te Deum, where Handel's intentions for the allocation of the upper three orchestral parts are not clear.

I B.L. RM.18.f.9, f 1-55 (olim p. 1-109)

Score of Te Deum and Jubilate. Smith Collection, with coat of arms of Frederick, Prince of Wales, on the binding. (c. 1746)

Copyist: J.C. Smith senior

Watermark: Ci, identical with that found in the autographs of the Occasional Oratorio and Judas Maccabeus.

Rastrography: 20 and 22-stave, 23.5-24

16-stave: Te Deum @ 4 72.5  
Jubilate @ 4 75.5

Other copies

There are several other copies which did not apparently emanate from Handel's circle of copyists and which are, on the whole, of little independent authority. They include:

Copy in the collection of Gerald Coke, Bentley, Hants. Possibly from the 1720's. Mr. Coke also owns the autograph of Hiller's German version, 1780.

Durham Cathedral Library, MS M. 172. An early copy, probably pre-1730.

Hamburg, Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek MB/1661. Formerly the property of James Blackman and Friedrich Chrysander. ?Mid-18th century.

Occ MS 68, 69 and 72. Single parts in the hand of Richard Goodson the younger, c. 1738, derived from the printed score, now Occ 606.

B.L. RM.19.a.14 and Add MS 27745: Organ scores of the Jubilate, companions to similar scores for the Dettingen Te Deum. Mid-18th century.

Printed Edition

'Te Deum Et Jubilate, For Voices and Instruments  
Perform'd before the Sons of the Clergy at the Cathedral-  
Church of St. Paul. Compos'd by George Frederick Handel.  
... London. Printed for & Sold by Iohn Walsh, &c.

This was the first printed score of Handel's English church music, probably published 1731-2 following the Sons of the Clergy Festival performance in February 1731. It was re-issued several times throughout the eighteenth century and its success seems to have encouraged Walsh to print further volumes of Handel's church music during the 1730's and 1740's. It was handsomely engraved, but the music text contains a few 'howlers'. Chief among these

is the final chord of the Te Deum, which repeats the previous G major chord instead of closing the plagal cadence with a chord of D: this mistake was transmitted unaltered to Arnold's edition (c. 1788) and even escaped Chrysander's eye. Chrysander seems to have used an amended version of Walsh's print for HG xxxi, where this chord appears uncorrected. Similarly, the impossible C sharp for Trumpet 2 in bar 2 of 'Day by day we magnify Thee' survived in Chrysander's edition.

### Relationship of Sources

Of the primary copies, only A, B and C antedate the printed edition. Many later copies are probably derived from the printed edition. In spite of the existence of the printed edition, the collectors responsible for the creation of the Aylesford, Lennard, Granville and Smith Collections seem to have demanded manuscripts of the Utrecht music. All of these copies seem to have been derived independently from the autograph, or possibly a file copy no longer extant. All MS copies except D carry the half-corrected version of No. 6 of the Jubilate, as does the printed edition.



63 See McGuinness: Court Odes

64 SJEP, December 30-January 1. Although Old Style was used in England until 1752, the New Year was celebrated at Court on January 1,  
For Ellis, see Appendix 5, B39.

### Handel's Ode for Queen Anne's Birthday

There are two reasons for including Handel's Court Ode, Eternal Source of Light Divine in the present study: it involved the personnel of the Chapel Royal, and its composition seems to be closely linked with that of the Utrecht canticles. The Ode demonstrates even more clearly than the canticles the extent of Handel's insinuation into the life of the English Court during his early years in London. From the Hanoverian point of view, the Ode would have been more difficult to condone than the canticles, for by setting the Ode Handel was giving unambiguous support to the peace settlement referred to in the text.

Just as the Utrecht canticles must be seen against the background of previous English Thanksgiving Services, so Handel's Ode must be related to the immediate history of the English Court Ode. By 1700 the performance of celebratory odes on New Year's Day and the monarch's birthday had become a regular part of English court life.<sup>63</sup> The composition of these odes, to texts supplied by the Poet Laureate, was one of the main tasks of the Master of the King's/Queen's Musick. Regular payments were made to John Eccles throughout the early years of Queen Anne's reign for "pricking and fair writing" the odes, usually at the rate of about £11 per ode. The 24 Royal Musicians, or that part of them which was currently in waiting, had to perform the odes as one of their regular duties. The Chapel Royal provided most of the voices, soloists as well as chorus. For some later years there is considerable information about the Chapel Royal performers: at New Year 1718/19, for example, the soloists were Hughes and Gates, and the newspaper reports even give the name of the Treble soloist, Thomas Ellis.<sup>64</sup> On the days of the Court Odes and Balls, evening prayer in the Chapel was cancelled "it being difficult for the Gentlemen and Officers of the

- 65 NCB, p.133. Entered 1742/3, but apparently  
recording a time-honoured practice.
- 66 Eccles held the office until his death in 1734/5.
- 67 B.L. Add. MS 31456. This was apparently composed  
for King William's birthday, probably for November  
1702. William's name has been replaced by Anne's  
throughout the MS. The chronology of the table in  
McGuinness: Court Odes, p.(24), appears to be at  
fault over this ode: Eccles' Ode cannot have been  
performed on Anne's birthday in February 1702/3 if  
William did not die until March 8. I suggest the Ode  
might have been used for the 1704/5 birthday. The  
singers' names on the music seem an integral set in-  
tended for 1 performance, whether in 1703 or 1705.
- 68 Cook and Robert were probably theatre singers; both  
appear in various London concert advertisements  
calendered in RMARC i.
- 69 Recorded P.R.O. LC5/152-154.
- 70 LC5/155 p.81
- 71 LC5 /156 p.137
- 72 See McGuinness: Court Odes, p. (27)
- 73 See supra, Chap.3. The Queen's birthday was on 6 February.
- 74 Nothing definite seems known about Eccles' politics.  
It is noteworthy, however, that in May 1713 his benefit  
concert was advertised as being for the 'Entertainment  
of .. the Duke d'Aumont, Ambassador extraordinary from  
France'. (RMARC, i, p.85) This seems to rule out the  
possibility that Eccles was specifically opposed to  
the Peace settlement. D'Aumont was also the dedicatee  
of Silla a month later.

of the Chapel to come to the Gate of the Court by reason of the great Concourse of People on those Publick Days."<sup>65</sup>

Specific payments to additional performers for the odes do not appear in the records of the Lord Chamberlain's department during Eccles' period as Master of the Musick.<sup>66</sup> Perhaps part of his overall fee was allocated to this expense. There is no doubt that the regular court musicians were supplemented from time to time by performers from elsewhere. For Eccles' Birthday Ode, Inspire us, genius of the day,<sup>67</sup> for example, an oboe player was required and the vocal soloists included Cook and Robert as well as Chapel Royal Gentlemen Damascene, Elford and Williams.<sup>68</sup>

There is a complete set of payments to Eccles for the court odes up to 1709<sup>69</sup> when court mourning for Prince George of Denmark probably stopped the festivities. No payment is recorded for 1710 and the next one, dated 7 March 1710/1, covers the New Year and Birthday odes for 1711.<sup>70</sup> No payment at all is recorded for the remaining years of Queen Anne's reign, but the series begins again with the first ode of George I's reign, New Year 1715.<sup>71</sup> A literary text for Eccles' 1711 birthday ode is extant,<sup>72</sup> but we have already seen that an Italian entertainment under Handel's direction was produced at court on that occasion.<sup>73</sup> Either two separate musical performances took place on the 1711 Birthday, or Eccles was paid for an ode which he composed but which was never performed, or the 1710/1 payment is an inaccurately recorded retrospective payment for 1710 odes. The absence of payments to Eccles for 1712-1714 shows that something interrupted the regular Court traditions: perhaps the Queen preferred Italian entertainments or the change in the ministry put Eccles on the wrong side of the Whig/Tory divide.<sup>74</sup> He may have composed odes which did not reach performance in the intervening years: a newspaper advertisement refers to "Mr. John



75 Walsh/Hare advertisement, EP April 10 1714.

This is not calendered in RMARC i, nor does the music appear to be known to Smith: Walsh f.

76 Boyer: Political State, v, p.89

77 ibid, vii, p.184

78 BL.RM.24.d.5. Soloists named are Elford, Weely and Gates. It is possible that Croft's Oxford Doctoral Exercise, With Noise of Cannon, was also originally planned as a Birthday Ode, since it is addressed to the Queen.

79 Authorship identified from Charles Jennens' annotations to his copy of Mainwaring: Memoirs.  
See Dean: Marginalia, p.162

Eccles' Musick for the Birthday 1714 for violins and hautboys".<sup>75</sup>

To sum up, the situation seems to be that Eccles provided Odes until c.1710, but not between 1712 and 1714. Handel and Nicolini performed in place of the Ode at the 1710/1 birthday and Nicolini, in Handel's absence, was responsible for a similar court performance in 1711/12. Contemporary sources tell us nothing about the music performed at the 1712/3 and 1713/4 birthdays. In 1712/3 the Queen, at St. James's Palace, was suffering severely from gout: she did not appear at the normal court, though she was carried into the Great Presence Chamber in the evening, where she played cards for an hour while "a sort of ball" took place in the adjoining room.<sup>76</sup> In 1714 the Queen, at Windsor, received the foreign ministers at 2 p.m. and in the evening there was a ball and a "splendid entertainment".<sup>77</sup> The possibility that a full court ode was performed on either of these occasions seems remote: apart from the omission of any mention of it in the papers, common sense suggests that the state of the Queen's health probably prevented the performance of a work of any length. Croft's Prepare, ye sons of art, with its four short movements,<sup>78</sup> might have been performed: Handel's Eternal Source would not.

Yet it seems certain that Handel's Ode was intended for performance on the royal birthday: the text refers to 'the Day that gave great Anna birth' and the soloists named on the autograph are a mixture of Chapel Royal and theatre singers typical of the forces normally employed for the odes. The text, by Ambrose Philips,<sup>79</sup> is a paean in praise of Anne as a peacemaker. This points to 1713 as the year of origin, and the composition of the Ode may account for the suggested interruption to Handel's work on the Utrecht Jubilate. A plausible timetable of events might have been:

80 RMARC, i, p.85-6

Colman: Opera Registers (BL. Add. MS 11258), f.22v.

81 Handel would not have been the only composer who brought out an unperformed court ode for use on a later occasion. Death or illness, or a major court event such as a royal wedding, from time to time led to the sudden cancellation of the ode and composers were naturally unwilling to see their efforts go to waste. The fate of Eccles' 1703 ode has been described (supra, note 67). His ode, Again the Joyous morn, unperformed in 1733, was used for the 1734 birthday. Some mystery attaches to the circumstances surrounding Greene's odes in 1750-2, but Great Patriot Prince may have been used twice.

Handel finishes the Utrecht Te Deum on 14 January and proceeds to the composition of the Jubilate. He then receives the text of the Ode, lays aside the Jubilate for the moment, and has 10-15 days to compose the Ode and arrange rehearsals. At the beginning of February, with the composition complete, the Queen suffers an attack of gout and the performance on the Birthday is cancelled. Handel then returns to work on the Jubilate, probably in mid- or late-February.

The watermark, though not the rastrogaphy, of the paper used by Handel for the composition of the Ode matches that of the Utrecht music.

There is one factor which limits acceptance of the timetable outlined above. This is the appearance of Mrs. Robinson among the soloists of the Ode, named by Handel on four movements. As far as we know, Anastasia Robinson did not make her first appearance on the London stage as a singer until 9 June 1713: she first performed with the Haymarket Italian Opera company in January 1713/4.<sup>80</sup> The date of her first association with Handel in the Opera company therefore suggests that the Ode was intended for the 1713/4 birthday, rather than the 1712/3 celebration to which the rest of the evidence seems to point. The most likely explanation is that Handel composed the Ode for 1712/3, but that it was not performed on the Birthday. He brought it out again a year later,<sup>81</sup> and this time it came sufficiently near to performance for him to add the singers' names. This explains not only the presence of Mrs. Robinson's name but also the relative accuracy of Handel's spellings of the English names compared with those found on earlier Chapel Royal autographs. Handel decided to re-allocate No. 4 to Elford and made the necessary re-arrangement: we may guess that this was a last minute alteration from the unusual procedure adopted. Handel



82 Conducting score, Hamburg Staats- und  
Universitätsbibliothek MC/266.

83 Dean: Marginalia, p.162 is rather hard on Philips'  
text, rather unjustly in my opinion. The occasion  
demanded serious, if not pompous, verse: Philips'  
ode has more in the way of useful poetic content  
than most of the court ode texts.

normally either re-composed the music of an aria afresh or, of only minor adjustments to the tessitura were needed, pencilled alterations on to the original copy. On this occasion he wrote out another version of the voice part alone, adjusting the vocal range but leaving the substance of the music alone so that it still fitted the original orchestral accompaniment. The revised voice part is now f.15 of the autograph. The only work in Handel's English Church music for which he adopted a similar procedure was the 1734 Wedding Anthem, This is the Day: on this occasion the copyist reproduced the orchestral parts of music borrowed from Athalia and Handel filled in the revised voice parts.<sup>82</sup> As far as the Ode is concerned, Handel's efforts were almost certainly wasted in 1713/4 for the performance was probably cancelled on account of the condition of the Queen's health. The timing of Handel's pension, granted by Queen Anne in December 1713, does not help to establish the textual chronology of the Ode: it may be argued either that the composition of the Ode and the Utrecht canticles in 1712/3 influenced the Queen's decision, or alternatively that the Ode was Handel's response early in 1713/4 to the award of the pension.

The composition of the Ode seems to have come easily: there is hardly a hesitation in the autograph and the gatherings are completely regular. Due credit must be given to Philips' text,<sup>83</sup> which provided the composer with eminently settable verses and attractive pastoral imagery. Eternal source of light divine contains some of the best music composed by Handel for Chapel Royal soloists during his early years in London, largely because the Ode provided more opportunities than anthems and canticles for extended aria writing. Elford's first accompanied recitative is one of the most striking opening movements in any of Handel's works, comparable to the arioso/accompanied recitative movements with which he liked to

84 See, for example, the opening to Act 1 of Rodelinda, Act 2 of Arianna and, of course, Act 1 of Serse.

85 It may, nevertheless, have resulted in an acoustical miscalculation on Handel's part. Purcell's Odes seem to have been performed at Whitehall, in circumstances more spacious than the Drawing Room at St. James's Palace.

begin operatic acts.<sup>84</sup> The interplay between alto voice and solo trumpet in this movement has an obvious Purcellian ancestry.<sup>85</sup> Later in the Ode Elford receives rather short measure in the arias, which may be why No. 4 was re-allocated to him. Three other Chapel Royal soloists have solo movements. Gates' movement is not far distant in style from the operatic 'rage' aria; Hughes and Weely have a duet built over an ostinato bass.

As previously noted, one of the most successful features of the Utrecht Te Deum was Handel's dramatic linking of solo and chorus material, so that the chorus reinforces the effect of the solo sections. In the Ode the linking of soloists and chorus is perhaps characterised by ingenuity rather than drama. To conclude each solo movement the chorus enters with the motto text 'The day that gave great Anna birth, Who fix'd a lasting Peace on earth': since the words are accommodated to the music of the preceding aria, this text appears in a different musical guise each time. The musical function of the concluding chorus is cunningly varied by Handel. In No. 2 the chorus takes up Elford's exuberant solo, including the florid divisions, and extends the music to greater length than the solo itself. In No. 5 the chorus provides a tonic completion to the duet, and in No. 8 it fulfils the function of the reprise section of a ternary form ('Da capo') aria. In No. 9 the Purcellian device of an Echo chorus (probably using the chorus voices to answer four soloists) illustrates 'to distant climes the sound convey'. The choral element is used with resource and a lightness of touch which makes the comparable choruses of the Utrecht Te Deum appear rather stodgy and halting: however, the problems posed by the texts of the two works are so different that this comparison is rather unfair.

It is almost inconceivable that Handel could have written



86 Purcell's work would probably have been more accessible to him than Eccles' more recent odes. The possibility of some independent influence on Handel from Eccles' work cannot be ruled out, however. One thematic resemblance with Eccles' music has been pointed out with reference to Handel's Anthem 6C. (See Chapter 3.)

Eternal source of light divine without some knowledge of Purcell's odes.<sup>86</sup> At the same time, the solo movements are not far removed from Handel's musical experience in the opera house. He revived Nos. 7, 8 and 9, with new texts but only minor alterations to the music for his English theatre performances in the 1730's (in Esther, Acis and Galatea and Deborah respectively). These movements proved very successful in their new contexts. The Hughes/Weely duet, No. 5, also formed the basis for an aria in the 1732 version of Esther: it is interesting that the theatrical version is less ornate than the original music for the Chapel Royal singers in the Ode.

Autograph

B.L. RM. 20.g.2, f.1-34, and three unnumbered ruled folios.

(Complete Ode) 9 bin with insertion, 1 fol. f.15

The gatherings are numbered in ink, possibly by an early copyist.

Watermarks: Bb; Insertion Eng. 1

Rastrography: 12-stave @4 70.5

12-stave @4 68.5 (f.30 onwards)

Insertion: 12-stave @4 82.5

Singers named: No. 1. Mr Eilfurt

No. 2. Mr Eilfurt

No. 3. Mrs Robi(n)son

No. 4A. Mrs Barbier

No. 4B. Mr Eilfurt

at bars 254-5: Mrs Robison (Soprano)  
Mrs Barbier (Alto)

No. 5. Mr Hughs (alto), Mr Whaly (Bass)

(the last name possibly altered from "Whely")

No. 6. Mrs Robison, Mrs Barbier

No. 7. Mrs Robis, Mrs Barb

No. 8. Mr Gates

No. 9. Mr Eilfurt

at Bar 573.(next to upper chorus entry):

Mrs Robison (Sop.); Mr Eilfurt (Alto).

The lower chorus is labelled by

Handel "Co. Eco"

The improvement in the spelling of Elford's name on the insertion 4B is noteworthy. The autograph is undated and ends at bar 586 with a cue instructing the repeat of the chorus from No. 2. Handel wrote "Tromba" at the beginning of No. 1, but used the (nearly) English form "Trompets" at the chorus entry in No. 9. At bars 88-9 of No. 2 Handel overlooked a set of consecutives between

87 Copy C, below.

88 HG xxix, p.82

89 HG liii, p.55

90 Appendix 5, B.65.

See Burney: Commemoration (Fifth Performance) p.100. Randall became Professor of Music at Cambridge.



Soprano and Tenor parts. This passage has been corrected by a later hand: Smith copied the uncorrected form about 1760.<sup>87</sup>

The autograph carries two additions in Handel's hand relating to later adaptations. In No. 8 Handel added 7 bars between 516 and 517 with the text 'be humble, or if Death's thy Doom' for use in 'Awake the Ardour' (Deborah, 1733).<sup>88</sup> The upper string parts to the opening bars of No. 7 were added by Handel during the adaptation of this movement for use in the 1732 version of Acis and Galatea ('Contento sol promette').<sup>89</sup> The earliest copies of the Ode give the movement in its original form with basso continuo opening only.

### Copies

These are listed below in approximately chronological order. Copy D is probably derived from the lost Aylesford Collection score, and is comparable to S.13's copies of the Caroline Te Deum, to be described in Chapter 5.

A B.L. Add. MS 35347 'Serenata on Queen Ann's Birth Day compos'd by Mr. Handell'. For a note on the anonymous copyist see Burrows: Dolben, p.149.

Copied c. 1730-1740.

Once the property of John Randall, who took part in the Chapel Royal performances of Esther while still a chorister.<sup>90</sup>

Although this copy is a good source for the music text, there is no reason for regarding the date 1714 in the title as being anything more than an estimate on the part of the writer.

B US - Wc M2.1.H2/Case Vols. 2-15, supplemented by US - Cu MS 437 Vols 10, 23, 24. Parts, vocal and orchestral. Lacking viola and trumpet 2 parts. The latter is possibly at Washington, Folger Library: see Larsen: Messiah, p.326.

Aylesford Collection, presumably derived from a score now lost.

'Serenade For the Birthday of Queen Anne, compos'd by G.F. Handel'

(Title from Organo part).

Copyist: S2

c. 1730-40.

The Ode is preceded by a 'Concerto' (Op. 3 No. 4), which was presumably bound up with the Ode in the source score. The copyist believed that the two were linked. All vocal parts begin with the cue 'Concerto tacet'; some of the orchestral parts have 'siegue' (sic) after the last movement of the concerto, before the start of the Ode. The copyists' title to the Ode precedes the concerto in all parts. The vocal parts carry no soloists' names and the copyist has grouped the solo music together: Alto 1 contains Mrs. Barbier's solo numbers as well as Elford's, while Hughes' solos are in Alto 2. Bass 1 includes the solo music written for both Weely and Gates.

C D - Hs MC/265, and related score MC/183 arranged from it.

Copyist: J.C. Smith senior. Described by Chrysander in the preface to HG vol 46a and Clausen: Direktionspartituren, p. 180-1.

c.1760

Includes the later adaptation of the opening of No. 7.

D B.L. RM.19.e.1 'Serenade for the Birth day of Queen Anne Compos'd by Mr. Haendel'.

Scribe: S13

The Ode is preceded by Op. 3 No. 4. A later hand has added the date 1714 at the end.

c. 1760-1770

E Cfm MS 69. Scribe unidentified.

Probably copied c. 1760-1765

Owned by Richard, Viscount Fitzwilliam, in 1768.



F Cfm MS 798 f.166 Lannard Collection. 'Serenata, On Queen Anns Birth Day'. In a volume entitled 'Miscellanys by G.F. Handel' (on spine).

Copyist: S9

c. 1770

G US - NBu X Fo. M1510.H14033 Wynn Collection, Vol. 10  
'Ode, on Queen Ann's Birth Day'. Contains some singers' names, additions to the original copy, relating to performances c. 1780-1790.

Copyists: S9 and Picker B.

Copied c. 1770

The text of the Ode is copied separately at the start of the MS. It is interesting that in the heading to this (which may or may not be the work of S9) the last figure of the date is not filled in: 'Ode, for Queen Anne's Birth Day 171 '.

Doubts over the date of the work have a long ancestry.

### Printed Edition

The Ode was first published by Arnold, c. 1789 as 'An Ode or Serenata Composed in the year 1713'. Arnold's source, at present unknown, presumably included the date in the title. 1713 could in any case signify 1713/4.

### Other references

Burney lists the Wynn copy in Commemoration, Sketch, p.46.

The list of Handel's works in Mainwaring: Memoirs, p.155 includes Serenatas 'one of which was for QUEEN ANNE, and performed at St. James's, but afterwards lost'. This can not be taken as definite evidence for a performance. Jannens' comment on 'lost' was: 'no such matter: for I have it transcrib'd from a copy which belong'd to Ld. Radnor'.<sup>91</sup> Why Jennens had to acquire his music by such a roundabout route, when he had Smith's copying service



at his disposal, is mysterious. Presumably the autograph was not available to Smith until after the composer's death. The same may have been true of Anthem 6C.

CHAPTER FIVETHE REMAINING CHAPEL ROYAL MUSIC  
FROM THE FIRST PERIOD, 1710-1714

	page
The accession of King George I	153
The <u>Caroline</u> Te Deum	157
Handel's Performances	168
Autographs	175
Manuscript Copies	180
Anthem 4A	183
Autograph	187

- 1 Copy of Warrant, P.R.O. 152/25, p. 380. See also Chapter 3, supra, in connection with possible performance dates of Anthem 60.
- 2 Previous interpretations of Handel's activities during this period, without knowledge of the Hanover documents, have generally followed Mainwaring: Memoirs, p. 88-9. We can now apply some correction to Mainwaring's comment on the pension: 'This act of royal bounty was the more extraordinary, as his foreign engagements were not unknown'.
- 3 See Hatton: George I, p. 108-9, 120.

THE REMAINING CHAPEL ROYAL MUSIC  
FROM THE FIRST PERIOD, 1710-1714

The Accession of King George I

Queen Anne granted Handel a pension of £200 per annum on 28 December 1713.<sup>1</sup> This sum was identical to the salary of the Master of the Queen's Musick, and roughly comparable to the 1,000 Thaler paid to Handel as Kapellmeister at Hanover. By the end of 1713 Handel had, in fact, achieved the object of 'entering the Queen's service' which was reported as his intention in Kreyenberg's letter quoted at the beginning of the previous chapter.<sup>2</sup> The English payment had to be made as a pension, since Handel was an alien and therefore ineligible for a court appointment. From Handel's point of view this arrangement had the advantage that it did not carry any specific regular duties at Court, except possibly that there was some sort of understanding about the Birthday Ode.

By the time Handel's pension was granted, England's political future appeared much more stable than had been the case when he first arrived in London. It did not take great political acumen to appreciate that the Pretender's refusal to desert Roman Catholicism had, in effect, secured the Hanoverian Succession, and that this succession could not be far distant. When the Queen eventually died, on 1 August 1714, the governments in London and Hanover were well prepared. Prompt action in London prevented a Jacobite uprising: George had already supplied the list of regents who were to govern the country until his arrival from Hanover.<sup>3</sup> Naturally this list concerned itself only with politicians. In time, however, all royal appointments came in for review, as also did the pension list. The general principle of maintaining the establishments of the previous reign was followed



- 4 The pension payments recorded in the Treasury Papers can be followed through Shaw: Treasury Papers, xxviii-xxxii. In common with most of those on the pension list, Handel's first payment in the new reign took some time to be cleared: he did not receive anything until August 12, 1715 (ibid, xxix, p. 675). It seems as if the manner of payment was altered; the original scheme under Queen Anne paid Handel £50 quarterly, but from 1715 this was changed to £200 annually. I can find no record of a pension payment to Handel in one year - 1717.
- 5 George August was not created Prince of Wales until 27 September.
- 6 Beattie: English Court, p. 257. The newspaper reports (for example in PB September 18-21) say that the King made his entry into the City of London 'towards noon'; this is in conflict with the generally received story that the entry took place after dark.

for non-political positions, although ways were naturally sought of rewarding those who had supported the Hanoverian cause. If the King had harboured any personal animosity towards Handel, as the result of the composer's earlier decision to commit himself to England rather than Hanover, he could have taken his revenge by discontinuing the pension. All of the evidence points the other way. King George apparently accepted that Handel was loyal to the country which had become the inheritance of the Electors. There were many in London, English and Hanoverian, who would have been willing to plead Handel's cause with the King: furthermore, Kreyenberg had half-promised Handel a favourable reception 'when some day His Highness comes here'. Handel's pension was continued as before<sup>4</sup> and the King's first Sunday service in the Chapel Royal included a performance of music by Handel.

There was a delay of several weeks between Queen Anne's death and the arrival of the new King. Communications were slow, the North Sea crossing was dependent on favourable winds, and in any case the affairs of the Electorate had to be put into some sort of order before George could leave Hanover. Furthermore, others apart from the King were involved: domestic arrangements had to be made within the Royal Family for those who now had to make their home in England. The King and his eldest son George August<sup>5</sup> arrived at Greenwich on Saturday, 18 September, and made their ceremonial entry into London two days later.<sup>6</sup> Their first Sunday morning service at the Chapel Royal, St. James's Palace, was therefore on 26 September:

On Sunday Morning last, his Majesty went to his Royal Chapel at St. James's, and the Right Hon. the Earl of Stamford carried the sword of state; Te Deum was sung, compos'd by Mr. Hendel, and a very fine Anthem was also sung; and the

7 EP, September 25-28. Similar reports appeared in PB, September 25-28 (partly quoted in Deutsch: Handel, p.63), Dawks September 28 and BM September 22-29. These three spelt the composer's name 'Handel'.

8 Although the Te Deum was an especially appropriate canticle, it must be recalled that it came in the normal context of Morning Prayer at the Chapel Royal. As noted in previous chapters the news of the Elector's accession was celebrated in Hanover by performance of the same canticle, (reported in BM, August 11-18. (Boyer (Political State, viii, p.207) reports the same event in a slightly different way which, if accurate, reveals the Te Deum as holding a comparable position in England and Germany as the main Thanksgiving canticle:

On Sunday, the 19th of August N.S. his Majesty caus'd Te Deum to be Sung in all the Churches of the Electorate to return the Almighty solemn thanks for having vouchsafed to advance him to the British Throne; and Prayers to be made for the Prosperity of his Reign.

9 WP, September 25-October 2

10 Her son, Frederick, remained in Hanover as the Elector's representative. Her youngest daughter, Caroline, followed her family to England when she was judged old enough to travel.

11 EP October 12-14, says they arrived at St. James's at 5 o'clock, PB 4 o'clock. In view of what follows concerning the origins of the Caroline Te Deum, it is worth noting that this timetable precludes the attendance of the Princess at the Chapel Royal service on the evening of the 13th.

Reverend Mr. Moor, Brother to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Drogheda, preach'd before his Majesty.<sup>7</sup>

The King was therefore received at the Chapel Royal with traditional ceremony.<sup>8</sup>

The newspaper reports are typically tantalising in their half-reporting of the Chapel Royal music: although they tell us that a Te Deum by Handel was sung, they do not make it clear who was responsible for the anthem. One newspaper report is more specific about the Te Deum:

Mr. Hendel's Te Deum, that was set to Musick, and sung at St. Paul's on the Thanksgiving Day for the Peace, was very excellently perform'd there, as was also a very fine Anthem, followed by an incomparable sermon preached by the Hon and Reverend Mr. Moor, Brother to the Earl of Drogheda.<sup>9</sup>

Unfortunately this cannot be regarded as conclusive. The rather gushing style of the Weekly Packet's reporting is suspicious, and the issue including this report also carried an apology for some inaccurate reporting in the previous number of the paper, which does not inspire confidence in its general accuracy. A newspaper given to embroidering the facts would probably jump to the conclusion that the Te Deum with instrumental accompaniment performed at the Chapel Royal was the well-known one.

Caroline, the Princess of Wales, arrived with her two eldest daughters<sup>10</sup> nearly a month after her husband and father-in-law, landing at Margate on Monday, 11 October and arriving at St. James's on the afternoon of the 13th.<sup>11</sup> There are two rather conflicting snippets of documentary evidence that her arrival was also celebrated with special music at the Chapel Royal. The first comes from Boyer's Political State of Great Britain for October 1714:

Oct. 13 On Wednesday Morning (October 13) the K(ing)



12 Boyer: Political State, viii, p.343.

13 From the Hamburger Relations-Courier, reprinted  
Becker: Tagespresse, p.35.

Original in German, my translation.

caused Te Deum to be sung in the Royal Chappel at St. James's, for the safe Arrival of Her Royal Highness, who having rested the night before at Rochester, with her Princely Consort, came with him to St. James's Palace, about Four a Clock in the Afternoon, their Royal Highnesses passed thro' the City of London ....<sup>12</sup>

There is no mention of Handel here, and none of any instrumental participation. It is probable that Boyer published a garbled version of the story, and that the King had in fact commanded a special Te Deum setting for performance at the more important Chapel Royal service on the following Sunday, 17 October. For information on that service, we have to go to a Hamburg newspaper:

London, 30. October 1714 (N.S., = 19 Oct. O.S.)

On Sunday (17 Oct. O.S.) the Prince and Princess of Wales accompanied the King to the Chapel Royal, St. James's Palace, where Te Deum, with another excellent thanksgiving piece with music composed by the famous musico Mr. Händel, was sung on account of the joyful arrival of the Princess of Wales and the young Princesses.<sup>13</sup>

The service was not reported at all in the London newspapers. This is surprising, but at the time they were too taken up with the arrangements for the forthcoming Coronation on October 20 to give much space to other domestic news.

There are therefore two probable dates for performances of Handel's Church Music at the Chapel Royal in the autumn of 1714: 26 September and 17 October. On the first occasion the Utrecht Te Deum may or may not have been performed. Handel's shorter D major Caroline Te Deum was almost certainly performed at one or both of the services, and there are good reasons for coupling the remaining piece of Handel's English Church music in which Elford

14 The evidence for linking the two works is described in more detail later in this chapter, in connection with Anthem 4A.

15 But, as also noted in Chapter 4, the possibility of a lost conducting score which contained later marking by the composer must be borne in mind.

16 Evidence for this is in the delay in the Pension List (see Note 4, supra), the delay in making good Chapel Royal appointments (see OCB, p. 27-8 and the commentary on this in the Supplement Conditions of Performance, infra) and the delay in swearing in the Chapel Royal Gentlemen for the new reign revealed in P.R.O. LC3/63.

is named as a soloist, Anthem 4A, with this Te Deum.<sup>14</sup> If the Utrecht Te Deum was performed on 26 September, Handel might have discovered that the work composed for St. Paul's was not quite appropriate for the more intimate conditions of the Chapel Royal. It may also be true that the King specifically asked him to compose a new Te Deum for the arrival of Princess Caroline. Alternatively, perhaps Handel composed the new Te Deum for the King's arrival (he would have had nearly two months during which to compose and rehearse it) and repeated it, possibly at the King's request and possibly with the addition of a new anthem, three weeks later. As noted in Chapter 4, there are no signs on the autograph of the Utrecht Te Deum that it was used for a second performance.<sup>15</sup> Handel's annotations on the autograph of the Caroline Te Deum might suggest two performances in 1714.

The documents in the Public Records do not provide any further enlightenment. There are no payments to additional performers, and no copies of orders for special Chapel Royal services. Routine government paperwork may have fallen behind at the beginning of the new reign,<sup>16</sup> but there is no reason to suppose that any entries were accidentally omitted from the records. There are no recorded payments to additional musicians for the Thanksgiving Services of Queen Anne's reign, so the silence of the sources in September/October 1714 is not unexpected. Any payments, apart from the routine salaries of the Royal Musicians and the Chapel Royal, and Handel's own pension, must have been arranged privately and unofficially.

#### The 'Caroline' Te Deum

The autograph is untitled, but the paper characteristics and the presence of Elford's name are sufficient evidence of the work's origin in 1712-1714. The earliest authority for the 'Caroline'



- 17 Copy A, infra (Score MS 130 Hd4 v.326). Having compared the inscription with other samples of Jennens' hand, I have no doubt of the identity of the author.
- 18 Copy E, infra.
- 19 Burney: Commemoration, Sketch, p.45. This part of Burney's list was derived from the Aylesford volumes and thus from Jennens' annotation to Copy A. We do not know whether Burney had actually examined volumes of the Aylesford Collection or whether his information came from an intermediary. The latter seems probable, since this is what happened with the Granville Collection: See Streatfield: Granville Collection, p.211 and Lonsdale: Burney, p. 307-8.
- 20 Service on the King's return in the Chapel Royal, Sunday 16 January 1736/7, reported in the newspapers the following week. Payment to Greene P.R.O. LC5/20, p.195.
- The Funeral Service of December 1737 is described in detail in WA2, ~~xxxvii~~. less completely, in contemporary newspapers: it is certain on the basis of these sources that no Te Deum was performed. Much of the modern confusion over the non-existent 1737 performance can be traced to Chrysander: Händel, p.401. In spite of Chrysander's disclaimer 14 years later in the preface to HG xxxvii, Deutsch reproduced the list of Caroline Te Deum soloists (with deviations) as performers at the 1737 funeral, in Deutsch: Handel, p.443.

association appears to be Charles Jennens, who inscribed the fly-leaf of his own score of the work: "Te Deum, perform'd on the Arrival of the Princess, the late Q. Caroline".<sup>17</sup> Jennens was close enough to the composer for his statements to be treated as authoritative, though if he obtained the information from Handel himself it would probably have been c. 1740 when the 'Aylesford' copy was made. His use of the title 'the late Q. Caroline' shows that the annotation was made after December 1737. It may be noted that Jennens said that the music was performed on the Princess's arrival in 1714, and not that it was composed for the occasion. One of the manuscript copies derived from Jennens' score carries a label, possibly later than the music copy itself, "Handel's Te Deum in D, for the Arrival of Queen Caroline".<sup>18</sup>

Unfortunately, Jennens' information became corrupted as it reached the wider public. In 1785 Burney listed the Te Deum as 'composed on the Arrival of Queen Caroline'.<sup>19</sup> When Arnold published the music for the first time three years later he confounded the Te Deum, as described in Burney's list, with Handel's 1737 Funeral Anthem for Queen Caroline, The ways of Zion do mourn: the result is a ludicrous title - 'A Short Te Deum in Score Composed for her late Majesty Queen Caroline in the Year 1737'. Handel certainly revived the Te Deum in later years, but 1737 can not have been among them. No Te Deum was performed at the 1737 funeral, and the Chapel Royal Te Deum celebrating King George II's return to England in that year was composed by Maurice Greene.<sup>20</sup> Attempts to 'interpret' Arnold's mistake by looking for a 1737 performance of Handel's Caroline Te Deum are misdirected.

The possibility must be considered that, although performed by Handel in the autumn of 1714, the Caroline Te Deum might have been composed earlier. In scale it is closer to Purcell's D major

21 On the autograph of Alexander's Feast (Rm.20.d.4, dating from 1736), for example, the tenor soloist's name is rendered as both 'Bird' and 'Beard'.

22 See Appendix 6, sub 'Baker', and the relevant sections of the Supplement Conditions of Performance on the subject of Chapel Royal appointments at this period.

setting than to Handel's own Utrecht Te Deum: was it composed even before the Utrecht setting, possibly at the end of 1712? Some features of the autograph seem to support 1712, others 1714, as the date of composition. The main evidence is:

- (1) Paper Rastrographical measurements match one page of Anthem 4A, but there is no comparable paper in any dated Handel autograph from the period 1710-1714. The watermark, however, suggests 1714 rather than 1712: it does not appear in any of the early London opera autographs, but is first encountered in a fragment from Amadigi (1715), and is common in the music from the Cannons period (c. 1717 - 1719) - Acis and Galatea and the Chandos Anthems.
- (2) Handwriting The large style of the early pages suggests 1712, but succeeding pages are much more similar in appearance to Handel's later autographs.
- (3) Singers' Names Handel's spelling of the names of English singers was somewhat erratic throughout his life.<sup>21</sup> The singers' names added to the autograph of the Caroline Te Deum appear to be more accurately spelt than those on Anthem 6C or on the Utrecht Jubilate, - "Eilfort" rather than "Eilfurt(h)", "Whely" rather than "Whale" or "Wahle", and "Gatz" rather than "Gaetz". These names may have been added in 1714 to a pre-existing autograph but, taken at face value, they support the later date of composition.

The appearance of Baker's name, apparently among the earliest soloists, must date from 1714. His Chapel Royal appointment was not confirmed until 1715 and he does not appear in the Travelling Charges for 1712 and 1713.<sup>22</sup> He was appointed Sub-preceptor to the young princesses soon



23 The autograph of the aria-which includes flutes ('Deh v'aprite', HG Vol. 60, p.74) is no longer extant. The authoritative early copy of Teseo RM.19.e.6, which has later pencilled annotations by Handel, labels the instrumental staves 'Traversa' and so does the similarly early copy RM. 19.g.4.

after their arrival in 1714, and it can be assumed from this that he had established himself in London in that year, while still retaining his Chaplaincy at Christ Church, Oxford.

- (4) The Flute part in No. 3 is labelled 'Traversiere' (autograph f.49). This French form is unusual in Handel's early autographs:

La Rezurrezione	Rome, March 1708	RM 20.f.5, f.37v Traversiera
(Rinaldo	London, 1711	Recorders, ) no flutes )
Il Pastor Fido	London, October 1712	RM 20.b.12, f.6 Traversiere
Teseo	London, December 1712/ January 1713	?Traversa <sup>23</sup>
<u>Utrecht</u> Te Deum	London, January 1712/3	RM 20.g.5, f.28v Travers
(Silla	London, May 1713	Recorders, ) no flutes )
(Amadigi	London, May 1715	Recorders, ) no flutes )

The only comparable appearance of this form of the word is therefore on the autograph of Il Pastor Fido, dated at the end by Handel 24 October 1712.

- (5) If the composition of Anthem 4A was contemporary with the Te Deum, the presence of the German transposition directions on the autograph of the latter might suggest that it (and, by implication, the Te Deum) was written soon after Handel's arrival from Germany.

There is no documentary evidence for any special service at St. James's Palace, St. Paul's Cathedral or Westminster Abbey during the period September 1712-September 1714 which might have called forth a special Te Deum, except for the Utrecht Thanksgiving and the Sons of the Clergy Festivals. The music for the Sons of the

24 This matter is considered in detail below in the  
sub-section describing the autograph.

Clergy Festival Service on 4 December 1712 is not specified in the newspaper announcements and reports, and I have not been able to identify it from any other source. In the present state of ignorance, the possibility that Handel composed the Te Deum for this service can not be ruled out. The most reliable and specific evidence from the autograph seems, however, to point to composition in 1714 rather than 1712. The Caroline Te Deum's affinities with Purcell's setting rather than the Utrecht Te Deum probably result from Handel's desire to write music which matched the building and the occasion and do not provide conclusive indicators to the chronological sequence of the three versions. The Utrecht music was composed for a leisurely ceremony in the expanses of St. Paul's Cathedral: the Caroline Te Deum was performed during a normal Sunday service in more intimate surroundings at the Chapel Royal, St. James's Palace. If the first might be compared to a grand high mass, the second fulfils a more modest role comparable to a missa brevis. In function, and in the circumstances surrounding its performance, the Caroline Te Deum stands closer to Purcell's than to Handel's own Utrecht setting. It is accordingly closer in externals to the Purcellian model.

The Caroline setting is, for example, of comparable length to Purcell's. It is scored for the same orchestra of trumpets and strings but with the addition of a solo flute in one movement. In later revivals Handel may have doubled the violin parts with oboes, but this was not his original intention.<sup>24</sup> Handel departs from Purcell's SSATB arrangement of the chorus in favour of SAATB. There is not, in fact, much division in the alto parts and this arrangement is mainly used to distinguish the alto soloist's part when it leads into a chorus. There are, nevertheless, a couple of passages where the two independent alto parts are vital to the spacing of



25 Bars 72-76 of No. 1, and bars 7-8 of No. 4  
provide two examples. The first is quoted  
below at Ex. 1.

26 It will be understood that, with regard to  
No. 2, I am referring to the plan of the main  
part of the movement. The bass solo is a  
skilful addition to a movement which would  
have been complete, were it not for the  
modulation away from A minor in the choral  
section.

choral sonorities.<sup>25</sup> These passages pose certain problems regarding the balance between soloists and chorus: it is difficult to resist the conclusion that Handel envisaged all of the 'chorus' work being taken by the two alto soloists with no further choral support.

In his treatment of the text (see Table 1) Handel groups the verses together more compactly than in the Utrecht Te Deum. Indeed, in this respect Handel outdoes all the previous English settings. Most of this extra economy is achieved by the grouping of verses in Nos. 2 and 3. In both movements Handel's scheme is to use the chorus to complete a solo movement, constructing his time-scale and key scheme to work towards the parts of the text where an appropriate chorus entry can be made.<sup>26</sup> In the Utrecht setting he uses this plan in only one movement, No. 8. Its unifying effect in the Caroline Te Deum is remarkable: the rapid alternations of soloists and chorus characteristic of the earlier English settings are replaced by stable extended movements.

No. 3, the most innovatory part of Handel's scheme, calls for special comment. None of the previous settings had run verses 16-23 as one movement: Purcell's treatment was in no less than five short sections. As a feat of composition, Handel's movement is remarkable for the way he weaves the short half-verses into a continuous aria which maintains the interest throughout. The opening section, which functions as a musical exposition, moves only slowly away from G minor: when it eventually reaches D minor at bar 26, the succeeding ritornello returns again to the tonic. As the movement progresses, the rate of modulation becomes faster. Excursions to C minor, B flat major and F major are followed by a beautifully contrived return to the tonic at bar 50; eight bars later the music sets off again, this time to D minor and C minor before re-

Chapter 5 Table 1Handel's Caroline Te Deum

The arrangement of this table is the same as that used in Chapter 4 Table 1 (page 108), to which reference should be made for the abbreviations used and for the numbering of verses.

<u>Verse</u>	<u>Key</u>	<u>t/s</u>	<u>Voices</u>	<u>Orch</u>
(Symphony)	D	C	-	Full
1. We praise Thee			ATB	Bc
2. All the earth			saatb	Full
3. To Thee all angels	b		A	Bc
... cry aloud	G		saatb	St + 2T
4. To Thee Cherubin	A, <del>f#</del>		A	Bc
5 & 6. Holy, holy	D		saatb	Full
7. The glorious company	a	C	A	St
8. The goodly fellowship	C, e			
9. The noble army	d, C			
10-13. The holy Church	a, G		saatb	
14-15. Thou art the King	C	$\frac{3}{4}$	B	
16-21. When Thou tookest	g	$\frac{3}{4}$	A	St + Fl
22-23. O Lord, save thy people			saatb	
24. Day by day	D	C	saatb	Full
25. And we worship			A, saatb	
26-28. Vouchsafe, O Lord	b, <del>f#</del>	C	A	St
29. O Lord, in Thee	D	C	saatb	Full

Notes: The Symphony is not a separate movement.

'Full' means 2 Trumpets & Strings. Strings are in 4 parts throughout.

The table gives the original version of verses 26-28 (No. 5) Handel's later setting of this section is:

b C A 2 Vn, Bc, Fl

27 It may be that Handel associated the dotted  
rhythm accompaniment figure played by the  
strings with the more petitionary aspects of  
the text: it is removed for this phrase, but  
returns for the subsequent pleadings resulting  
from recollections of the judgement to come.



turning towards the tonic in preparation for the chorus entry.

The skill with which Handel carries the vocal line over the successive perfect cadences in the bass line, by timing the cadences in mid-phrase verbally or musically, is so comparable to Purcell's skill in dealing with the cadences of ground basses that it is difficult not to draw the conclusion that Handel had studied some examples of this aspect of Purcell's music. The instrumental accompaniment provides a further layer of interest, and one which helps to impel the music onwards by supplying overlapping links between the soloist's phrases. The withdrawal of various elements of the accompaniment provides variation in the texture and opportunities for interesting re-entries. During the singer's first phrase, for example, the basso continuo part is phased out, leaving the upper parts floating over a bass provided by the violins. The withdrawal of violins and flutes together at bars 44-47 is equally striking, and was probably intended to give the singer a chance to render 'Thou sittest at the right hand of God' with a more expansive delivery.<sup>27</sup> The fundamental textural contrast between held notes for the wind instruments (voice and flute) and staccato strings, on which most of the movement is built, is itself a striking effect, and rather theatrical: it strikes a pose which could be transferred successfully to a suitably anguished operatic aria.

No. 3 is, in every sense, the centrepiece of the Te Deum. To it Handel brought his experience from the composition of operatic arias, modified to suit the world of English church music. It is doubtful whether any better music was ever composed for Elford. The shorter solo movements are hardly less interesting as dual revelations of Handel's theatrical experience and his assimilation of the English style. The main section of No. 2 is a brilliant Italianate aria of modest length: its choral completion proves to be an introductory link to a second aria in the best Purcellian

28 So designated by Handel himself.

manner. Not only is the latter couched in Purcell's archetypal 'French' manner, with a strong triple time swing and dance-rhythm dotted quaver groups, but it is moreover for a bass soloist, albeit not one of Gostling's profundity. No. 5 is a straightforward accompanied recitative, operatic enough in presentation: yet it is also ideally suited to the technique, delivery and range of the Chapel Royal alto soloist, Francis Hughes.

The remaining movements stand more directly in the tradition of the earlier English Te Deum settings. The alternation of 'Verse' and 'Chorus' sections<sup>28</sup> in No. 1 is much closer to the Anglican tradition than the big choruses which open the Utrecht Te Deum. The Caroline Te Deum even begins with the traditional Anglican ATB 'Verse' combination. Furthermore, Handel's linking of the instrumental introduction with the theme of the first vocal phrases seems to provide a deliberate reference point to Purcell's setting which is lacking in the Utrecht version. The short Alto/Trumpet duet in No. 4 is another echo of Purcell, though in general rather than specific terms.

One remarkable feature of the Caroline Te Deum when compared with all previous settings is the lack of imitative choral writing. There is some lively counterpoint in the last movement, but the rest of the chorus music is almost completely homophonic. As already noted, Handel's arrangement of the text in the first three movements is designed with a view to leading the chorus in as a climax to the solo sections. The chorus therefore fulfils the role of 'all the earth', the 'cherubin and seraphin' and 'the holy church' in the first two movements, and rounds off the third with 'O Lord, save thy people'. Similar opportunities had been seized in earlier English settings, but in none of them is the structure so clearly focussed and the contrast between individual and col-

29 A rather similar treatment later occurred to Schubert at the opening of the 'Sanctus' of his Mass in E flat. ('No. 6').

30 My own experience of directing performances of the Te Deum is that it is impossible to introduce a hiatus between the two movements: the orchestra naturally seeks a link between them.





2.

[illegible]

lective utterance so clearly conveyed. The reason is probably that the alternations between Verse and Chorus in the previous settings are so frequent that the chorus only takes on a collective role in some of the entries: in Handel's *Te Deum* the chorus, used more sparingly, takes on a single type of dramatic function.

The fact that the Caroline *Te Deum* is a less expansive work than the Utrecht setting does not lead Handel to eschew rhetorical or dramatic effects. Indeed, the smaller scale makes these effects all the more concentrated, and the choral contribution accordingly relatively more powerful. The treatment of verses 5-6 provides an excellent example. As noted in the last chapter, Handel ran these two verses more closely together in the Utrecht setting than his English predecessors had done. In the Caroline *Te Deum* he goes a stage further, breaking up the threefold repetition of 'Holy' with pauses<sup>29</sup> and then treating verse 6 as the verbal and musical consequence. (See Example 1) This passage must, furthermore, be heard in context. Although it ends with a tonic perfect cadence, its effect is to lead on into No. 2. The lively beginning of No. 2 is a reaction, almost a spin-off, from the energy generated by this choral outburst.<sup>30</sup> In No. 2 the chorus entry works in the opposite direction: it begins full of energy, but bars 45-47 provide a musical diminuendo, achieved by purely rhythmic and harmonic means. This also prepares for the more energetic bass solo which follows, to this extent repeating the function of Ex. 1. A similar consequence-by-reaction links the last three movements.

Bearing in mind the rather fragmentary and mosaic-like nature of the canticle text, there is a good case for regarding the Caroline setting as the most successful version in the repertoire described so far. In it Handel achieved a flow which is imperfectly realised in the previous settings, a flow achieved by musical

31 The same is true of the Purcell setting:  
promising chorus movements seem to be  
called to a halt just as they are under way.

32 See Burrows: Peace Anthem

33 See Burrows: Foundling Hospital, p.269-275



technique as well as by textual groupings. As far as musical style can be an indicator, it seems to confirm the probability that the Caroline Te Deum was composed later than the Utrecht setting. The solo movements are better developed and the choral writing, although on a smaller scale, is directed much more towards the matter in hand. By contrast, the Utrecht setting, with its over-reliance on short choral expositions, seems rather halting and stodgy.<sup>31</sup> Melodies and harmonic rhythms are also rather more directional than in the larger work, and Handel's employment of more modest forces is not accompanied by diminishing musical effect. Handel was not mistaken in his preference for reviving this work in later years when occasion demanded a short Te Deum.

#### Handel's performances


The autograph has many additions by Handel which relate to later revivals. This in itself makes it almost certain that no separate conducting score was prepared. The plethora of singers' names added by the composer reveals at least three separate performances. The combination of Bayly, Mence and Wass must refer to the Chapel Royal service in May 1749, on the Thanksgiving Day for the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.<sup>32</sup> Leigh's name postdates these and was probably part of Handel's scheme for the official opening of the chapel of the Foundling Hospital.<sup>33</sup> Bayly, Mence and Wass are Chapel Royal Gentlemen, but the identification of Leigh poses more of a problem: George Laye, the obvious Chapel Royal alto, had been a minor soloist in earlier years, but I have not found any musical source after 1730 which names him in a leading part. Nevertheless, he was a regular member of the Windsor choir until at least 1755 and his identification with 'Mr. Leigh' must stand until some other candidate comes to light.

34 The exact date opens up a question which is too large for investigation here. In 1743 Smith said he had been working for Handel for 24 years (Matthews: Unpublished letters, p. 264) which may mean simply 'since the founding of the Royal Academy of Music'. If Handel went to Germany in 1717, Smith may well have returned with him then. The situation is confused by the misattribution of 'early Smith' copies which are not in his hand. The earliest copy known to me which might contain some of his work is a cantata volume dated 1718, Ob MS. Mus.d.61.

35 Although <sup>9</sup>Hughes died in 1744, he does not seem to have been active as a soloist after 1734.


The earlier set of names on the autograph is more difficult to disentangle. If some sequential sense is to be made of the entries, it is necessary to discover the number of performances, or planned performances, to which they might refer. One, or possibly two, performances have already been identified in September /October 1714. Elford died on 29 October 1714, about 10 days after the second (and more likely) of these dates. According to his obituary he died of a 'fever', but insufficient information is given to reveal whether he might have been fit to sing on 17 October. It is possible that Handel had to re-allocate his solo music at the last moment: this could explain, for example, the replacement of Elford by Hughes at the start of No. 3. However, the possibility of an intermediate performance between 1714 and 1749 must also be considered, for this also could account for some of the entries.

Evidence for such a performance is provided by Handel's second version of No. 5. Handel re-set this movement, which was originally an accompanied recitative for alto, as an aria for alto, flute and strings. The autograph of the second version is on a separate sheet, now at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. It was never part of the main autograph of the Te Deum. The latter contains instead an inserted copy of the new movement in the hand of J.C. Smith senior. The reason for this particular arrangement of the sources seems to be connected with the use of the autograph as a conducting score. The autograph of No. 5B could not be bound tidily into the main autograph, so Smith's copy was produced in a more suitable format and attached over the top of the autograph of No. 5A, obliterating the original movement. Smith did not come to England until 1717 or 1719,<sup>34</sup> so this copy can not have been made in 1714. Hughes is named as the soloist, so the new movement must have been composed before 1744.<sup>35</sup> Smith might have copied a 1714 autograph for Handel in 1749.

- 36 BL RM.20.h.3. The autograph is undated except for a pencilled 'Anno 1723' of uncertain provenance at the end. The first performance of the opera took place in February 1724. Bx paper is found only in Acts 2 and 3.
- 37 BL Rm.20.b.6, dated at the end 16 November 1729.
- 38 Watermark Cb is listed by Clausen as occurring in Conducting Scores 1717-1730. In the autographs it does not occur later than 1727.
- 39 This change in note-formation is not recorded in Clausen: Direktions partituren, p.269. It is clearly visible in his own illustrations, however. The semiquavers in Tafel 6 (Giulio Cesare) have the 'old' form, as in the Te Deum insertion. Tafel 4 (Sosarme, 1732) has the later form thus:  . The value of Clausen's table, p.269, is vitiated by the confusion over 'early Smith' copies referred to in Note (34).



and absent-mindedly included the obsolete name of a soloist, but this seems rather unlikely. The style of Handel's handwriting on the autograph of No. 5B is as unhelpful as that on the main autograph for dating purposes: it might have been written in 1714 or later.

Enlightenment can, however, be sought from the paper characteristics of the autograph of the revised movement. Although this is only the first quadrant of a larger sheet, the paper has a sufficiently individual watermark characteristic to allow matching with other papers. Since it is not encountered in the conducting scores, this watermark is not listed by Clausen, and I have designated it Bx. I have examined all of the available English autographs of Handel's operas composed between 1711 and 1732, and Bx only occurs in two of them - Guilio Cesare (1723/4)<sup>36</sup> and Lotario (1729).<sup>37</sup> The second version of No. 5 of the Caroline Te Deum must therefore have been composed in the 1720's. Reference back to Smith's insertion copy confirms this date: the paper type is of the right period (supporting 1723/4 rather than 1729),<sup>38</sup> and the note-form for the semi-quaver (  ) is characteristic of Smith's hand in the 1720's.<sup>39</sup> The chronology of the Chapel Royal performances of Handel's music will be examined in Chapter 7: for the moment, it is necessary only to note that the composition of No. 5B points to a revival of the Te Deum during that decade. The musical characteristics of the movement are the province of Chapter 9.

The singers' names on the autograph must now be reviewed with the knowledge that Handel revived the Te Deum in the 1720's as well as in 1749. My analysis of the names is given in Table 2. I have ascribed Gates' name on No. 3 to the 1720's, rather than to a second 1714 performance, on account of the 'correctness' of Handel's spelling. More doubt attaches to the chronological position of the

Chapter 5 Table 2

Singers' names added by Handel to the Autograph  
of the 'Caroline' Te Deum

	<u>c.1714</u>	<u>Pencil</u>	<u>1720's</u>	<u>1749</u>	<u>1749 or later</u>
No. 1	Eilfort			Bayly	Leigh
	Hughs			Menz	
	Gatz			Wase	
	Baker				
	Whely				
No. 2	Eilfort	.		Menz	
	Baker		Gates		
No. 3	Eilfort	Hughs		Menz	
				Bayly	
No. 4		Hughs		Menz	Leigh
No. 5A	Hughs				
No. 5B			Hughs		

40 The designation of the obbligato part for  
flute in No. 5B is not cancelled or amended  
in the autograph or in Smith's copy.

41 See, for example, the 'Double Voices' specified  
on Croft's anthem I will lift up mine eyes  
(1713, Lcm MS 839), and the directions for  
4 Trebles/2 Counter Tenors/2 Tenors/2 Basses  
in the first chorus of Purcell's 1692 St.  
Cecilia Ode (Early copy, Ob MS. Mus.c.26).

11-11-11

11-11-11



Handwritten musical score for "Caroline Te Deum, No. 1" by Handel, bars 7-11. The score is written on ten staves. The first five staves contain instrumental parts. The sixth staff has the vocal line with the lyrics "We pra - - - se thee Lord. We - ack". The seventh staff continues the vocal line with the lyrics "We - ack - - -". The eighth staff continues the vocal line with the lyrics "We pra - - -". The ninth and tenth staves contain instrumental parts. There are several handwritten annotations in the left margin, including "Mr. C. H. H. H." and "Mr. H. H. H.".

CHAPTER 5, PLATE 1

Handel's autograph of the Caroline Te Deum, No. 1, bars 7-11

pencil entries - were they made c.1714 or c.1724? I think it more likely that they were made in 1714, for two reasons:

1. There was no need for the correction to No. 3 in the 1720's, when Hughes appears to have been the only alto soloist and therefore took over all of Elford's previous music as well as his own. In 1714, on the other hand, Handel would have been altering the distribution of solo work between his two alto soloists.

2. The alteration to the singers' names in No. 3 is linked with another pencilled alteration, showing the replacement of the flute by an oboe. If the inclusion of the flute had been impracticable in the 1720's, Handel would hardly have proceeded to compose No. 5B which inserts an obbligato flute part into a movement where there was none originally.<sup>40</sup>

Assuming that the pencil entries were made in 1714, it is fairly easy to find a reason for them. Handel may have had to lighten the ailing Elford's part, or he may have decided on a more equal division between the two soloists. Although Handel had provided solos for both men in the original scheme, Hughes' share was rather meagre.

The semi-chorus arrangement revealed by the names at the first voice entry in No. 1 is interesting (see Plate 1) and has some parallels in earlier music by English composers.<sup>41</sup> The lack of a 1712-1714 name against the solo tenor part is no less revealing: altos and basses were abundant at the Chapel Royal, tenors were not. It is remarkable that both Hughes and Elford are named against the first alto part throughout the first movement, in view of the overwhelming evidence that they were 'first' and 'second' altos respectively. Handel had recognised this in Anthem 6B and in No. 5 of the Utrecht Jubilate, but he seems to have remembered the arrangement rather spasmodically in the Caroline setting. In No. 2

42 See Copy C, infra.

43 Mee: Oxford Music Room, p.60.

The list is undated, but Mee believes it to have been published in the 1770's (p.44). On the basis of its contents, it may record the library of the Club as it existed c. 1760.

Elford's solo part runs onto the alto 1 line at the chorus entry, in No. 3 it runs onto the alto 2 line.

There is no documentary evidence for any performances of the work, apart from Handel's own, during the composer's lifetime. Alcock may have arranged some performances from the score which he owned in 1746.<sup>42</sup> By the 1770's the Oxford Music Club owned three Te Deums by Handel, the Utrecht, Dettingen and Cannons versions:<sup>43</sup> in this they reflected the general pattern of availability which seems to have excluded the Caroline setting. There are fewer surviving copies of the Caroline Te Deum than of Handel's later A major Chapel Royal setting: of all Handel's settings of the canticle, the Caroline seems to have remained almost a private matter between Handel and the Chapel Royal. He purloined some of its music for use in Chandos Anthem 7.



Autographs

A B.L. RM.20.g.4, f.38-62 (Complete Te Deum)

2 Quin., 1 Bin., lacking last sheet.

Insertion: (f.56-57) 1 Un. (In the hand of J.C. Smith senior)

The thickness of the gatherings in this work and Anthem 4A is unusual: no other autograph of Handel's English Church Music has such a clumsy arrangement.

Watermark: Burrows Cba (Insertion: Cb)

Rastrography: †2-stave @4 75.5-76

(insertion: @2 32-32.5)

Singers named: (\* denotes deletions)

No.1. Bar 7: Alto 1: Mr. Eilfort\*, Hughs\*, Mr. Bayly\*

(all deleted in ink), Leigh

Tenor: Mr. Menz

Bass: Mr. Gatz† Beker\*, Whely\* (all deleted in ink), Mr. Wase

Bar 36: Alto 1: Mr. Eilfort\*, Mr. Menz\* (both deleted in ink), Mr. Leigh

Bar 60: Alto 1: Hughs\*, Mr. Bayly\* (both deleted in ink), Mr. Leigh

No.2. Mr. Eilfort, Mr. Menz

Bar 55: Mr.. Beker, Gates .

No.3. Mr. Eilfort\* (deleted in pencil), Hughs\* (in pencil), Menz\*(deleted in ink), Mr. Bayly.

Above upper instrumental stave: 'Traversiere' deleted in pencil and 'Hautb' added (in pencil).

The last deleted in ink later.

No.4. Mr. Hughs\* (in pencil)

Bar 13: Mr. Menz\* (deleted in ink), Mr. Leigh

No.5A (M)r. (Hu)ghs

44 Deutsch: Handel, p.751

45 First identified by me in Burrows: Foundling  
Hospital, p.282. Teede was J.C. Smith's  
son-in-law.

No.5B (Mr.Hughs - in Smith's hand as part of the original copy) Mr. Bayly (Added by Handel)

All entries in the above are in ink unless otherwise stated.

The beginnings of Nos. 3 and 5 also have some pencilled additions referring to instrumentalists. They are in the hand of a copyist, possibly Larsen's S5 or S6. Both movements are headed 'Teede and Richter' (woodwind players).

Next to the basso continuo part of No. 5 there is also:

'Bass part for Deidrich and Gillier of this movement'.

B Cfm MS 262, p.7-8 (Movement 5B only)

1 fol.

Watermark: Burrows Bx

Rastrography: 12-stave, @2 32-32.5

Singers named:

No. 5B: Mr. Hughs

The grouping of the soloists according to Handel's various performances is dealt with above (See Table 2).

The instrumentalists named were active c. 1750: three of them are named on the first surviving Foundling Hospital 'Messiah' account, 1754.<sup>44</sup> Their names were added for the performances in 1749 or later. They can not have taken part in the performances c. 1714 and c. 1724. The Flute/Oboe player William Teede was the copyist S6:<sup>45</sup> he may have taken part in Handel's performances of the Te Deum in c. 1749-1753 and copied some of the performing material as well.

Handel's use of the English forms 'Verse', 'Loud' and 'Slow' throughout the autograph is noteworthy.

A few textual points call for comment:

46 Arnold attempted a partial solution  
in the first printed edition.



No. 1 Bar 7. Handel originally brought the voices in on a tonic chord. The correction of this mistake appears to be a later addition.

Bar 11. The grace notes printed by Chrysander are present in the autograph. They are presumably to be interpreted as short appoggiaturas.

No. 2 Bar 22. The first two notes of the 2nd violin part may have been added later (c. 1724?).

Bar 42. Chorus and orchestral parts are in fundamental disagreement (ex. 2) which none of the secondary MS copies attempts

Ex. 2

43

Vn.1

Vn.2

Va.

S.  
in - finite ma - jes - ty,

A.1  
in finite ma - jes - ty,

A.2  
in finite ma - jes - ty,

T.  
in - finite ma - jes - ty,

B.  
in finite ma - jes - ty,

B.c.

4

to correct.<sup>46</sup> It seems that Handel wrote the voice parts first and forgot to make the orchestra conform when he added the instrumental parts.

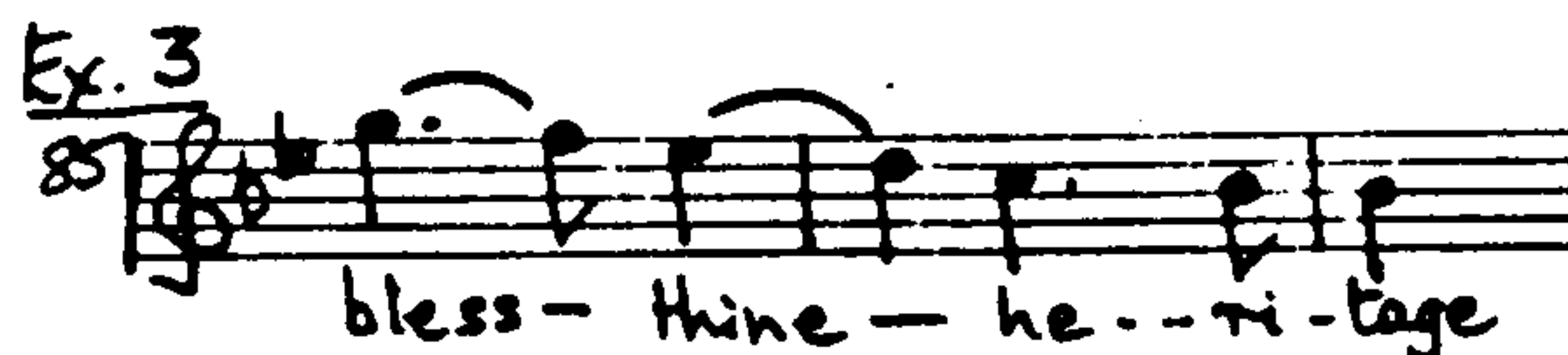
No. 3. "Staccato" is written next to the string parts and presumably does not apply to the flute. The absence of dotted quaver groups in the flute part is remarkable.

Bars 86-7. Handel's autograph shows a hemiola treatment

47    Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek    .    .

MS MC/266, f.27v.    .

here, with the chorus underlay thus:



No. 5. Handel presumably recomposed this because he or his soloist was dissatisfied with the first setting. The original form is quite effective in its way, though there may be false emphasis at bar 10 if Handel's quaver grouping is taken literally and there is no vowel elision.

No. 6. Bars 1 and 4 have cues next to the Violin 1 stave, 'Violin' and 'tutti' respectively. These are clearly intended for oboe parts: oboes could not, in any case, play the low A in bar 2. Oboes are not specified anywhere in the original state of the autograph, though the secondary MS copies generally interpret Handel's unlabelled violin staves as 'Violin e Haut. 1/Violin e Haut. 2'. It has already been noted that Handel at some stage replaced the flute in No. 3 by an oboe. In any case there is the possibility that the flute soloist would also have been an oboe player. Therefore, although Handel's original intention seems to have been to use an orchestra consisting of strings, trumpets and solo flute, an oboe may have been added to the violins in the tutti sections at an early stage. Handel also headed No. 2 'tutti', which may be another oboe cue. Whether or not an oboe (or oboes) participated in 1714, one was certainly available for the performance in the 1720's, and two in 1749-53. The cues in No. 6, although in Handel's hand, are in a different ink from the music to which they refer. They may have been added in 1734 when the movement was used for the Wedding Anthem This is the day. The cues appear in the conducting score of the Wedding Anthem,<sup>47</sup> interpreted by J.C. Smith senior as 'Senza H.'

and 'Tutti V e H'. Another possibility is that the oboe cues in this movement and at the start of No. 2 were added c. 1717 when Handel was preparing Chandos Anthem 7.



Manuscript Copies

## A. Mp Henry Watson Music Library (Flower Collection)

MS 130 Hd4 v.326

Score, Aylesford Collection.

Copyist: JC. Smith senior

Watermark: Cd

Rastrography: 12-stave, @2 33.5-34

(Copied c. 1737-8)

The MS also includes some figuring added by Charles Jennens, and the flyleaf annotation described above.

From this score was derived:

MS 130 Hd4 v.327-345, 347. Vocal and orchestral parts

(V1/V2/Va/Vc1/Vc2/Ob &amp; Fl 1/Ob &amp; Fl 2/Fg1/Fg2/T1/T2/Org.

S1/S2/A1/A2/T1/T2/B1/B2)

Copyist: S2

Watermark: ?Cg

Rastrography: @4 75

## B B.L. Egerton MS 2914, f.116-128 (p.231-255) Granville Collection

Copyist: J.C. Smith senior

Watermark: C'f

Rastrography: 20-stave, @2 23.5-24

(c.1740)

C Edinburgh Public Library, W.MA.14.C<sup>48</sup>.

Copyist: S2

Rastrography: 12-stave @2 30.3

On the flyleaf: "Written by Dr. Alcock of Reading about 1746".

This appears to be accurate as regards ownership, for John Alcock was organist in Reading in the mid-1740's. The MS is not in Alcock's hand. During the nineteenth century it was

the property of J. Bishop of Walworth, London, who believed the Te Deum to be a composition of Alcock's: he also owned a companion volume, now untraced, "in the same handwriting" signed by Alcock himself.

- D Cfm MS 814, p.109-132 (2nd pagination) (Lennard Collection, vol 32)

Copyist: J.C. Smith, senior.

Watermark: E\*a

Rastrography: 22-stave @ 2 23.5-24

Copied ?c.1750

- E RCM MS. 889 "Te Deum in D, for the Arrival of Queen Caroline".

Formerly from the library of the Concerts of Ancient Music.

Copyist: S13

Watermark: G

Probably copied after 1760

- F B.L. RM.19.e.2

Copyist: S13

Watermark: G

Probably copied after 1760

- G Ob MS Mus.d.57 (Hayes Collection, "Vol.8")

Copyist: Unidentified ?Oxford hand.

Watermark: C type, not listed by Clausen

Rastrography: 10-stave @5 94

Probably copied after 1760

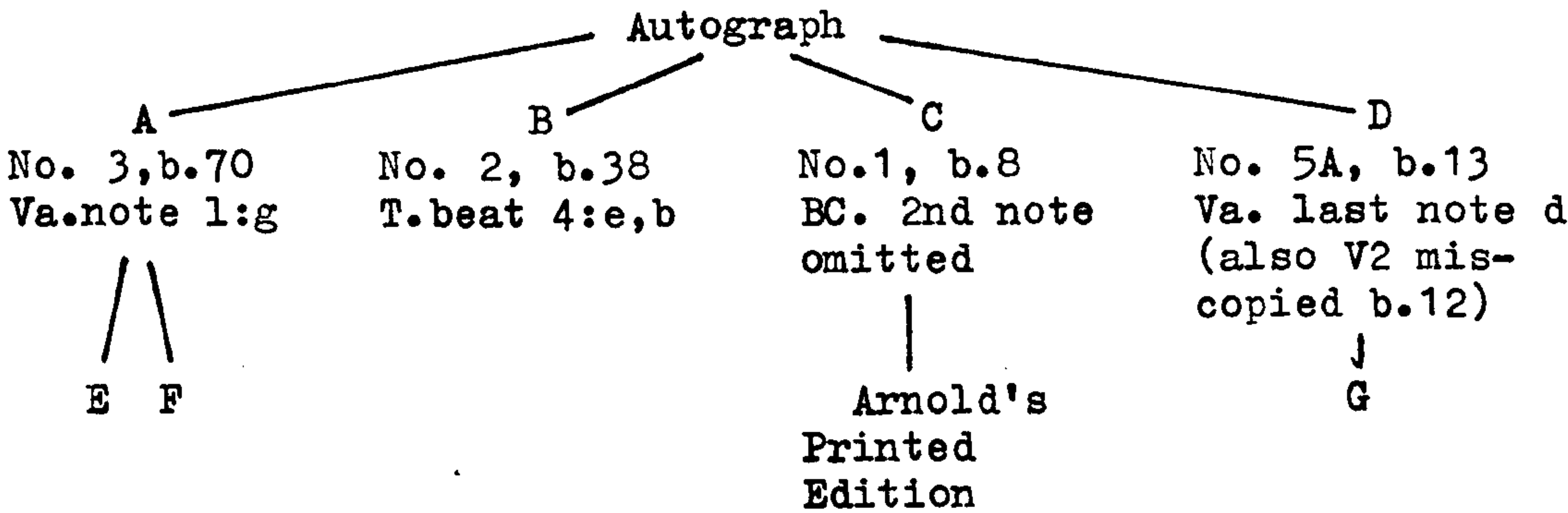
None of these copies reproduce any of the singers' names from the autograph. B, D and G have movement 5A, the remainder 5B; all of the copies, including B, D and G, must have been made after 5B had been composed.

Most copies interpret the violin staves as "Viol. e Haut.", apart from C, where S2 mistakenly gave the violin lines to the oboes and labelled the trumpet parts "Viol e Tromb.". This mistake was copied by Arnold's printed edition. In the part-books of A, S2 provided editorial oboe and bassoon parts in the instrumental symphonies of the arias.

First Printed Edition

A Short Te Deum In Score Composed for her late Majesty  
Queen Caroline in the Year 1737 By G.F. Handel  
Arnold's Edition, No. 13 (1788)

Relationship of Copies



49 I make the assumption that the anthem as now found in the autograph is complete. There is no heading to the first movement and no separate introductory sinfonia, though the latter is not a common feature of Chapel Royal anthems in any case. Possibly a first sheet (formerly conjunct with the present f.11) has been lost from the anthem, but this seems unlikely.



Anthem 4A: O Sing unto the Lord

This anthem may well have been the 'other excellent thanksgiving piece' performed on 17 October 1714: there are certainly good reasons for coupling it with the Caroline Te Deum. Both works include a flute in the orchestra and Baker among the vocal soloists. The characteristic spelling 'Traversiere' noted in the Caroline Te Deum recurs here; furthermore, the anthem autograph includes one sheet of a paper type matching the autograph of the Te Deum. It is probable that the anthem was composed after the Te Deum: in the mean time, the orchestra had gained an oboe.

Just as Anthem 6C was probably Handel's first English anthem, so Anthem 4A was probably his first independent English anthem with orchestral accompaniment. Both works share a common characteristic in that they do not end in the key of the first movement. Perhaps it is anachronistic to expect overall tonic organisation in 1714: it seems likely that Handel planned the relationships from movement to movement without any tonic imperative. The terminal key relationships in Anthem 4A (G major - D major)<sup>49</sup> are more closely related than in Anthem 6C (D minor - B flat major), but this may be rather accidental: the key of the last movement of Anthem 4A is controlled by the use of the 'D' trumpets. There is nevertheless a case for seeing a closer tonal organisation of the plan of this anthem when compared with 6C, for it is basically a G major/minor work with a D major conclusion:

1	2	3	4	5	6
G major	E minor	C major-E minor	G major	G minor	D major

The adherence to the tonic area, with a move to the minor towards the end, is closer to the plan of Croft's anthems. It is in striking contrast to the plan of Handel's canticle settings, which are

50 This matter is considered in detail in the  
Supplement Conditions of Performance, sub  
'Pitch'.

51 p.80 (Chapel Royal Word-book)

52 The autograph of Weldon's anthem (BL Add.MS  
41847, dated 9 January and composed 1708/9)  
shows that Weldon composed verse 5 also but  
then deleted it. Purcell, like Weldon, had  
omitted verses 7-8.

53 Neither Purcell nor Weldon included verse 11  
in their settings of the anthem.

notable for a greater tonal range than their English counterparts.

Handel made two alterations to his original plan for the anthem. He replaced the second half of the duet (No. 5) with a chorus. The result is an improvement both to the movement itself and to the flow of movements 5-6. It involved no alteration to the overall keysscheme. The other alteration was less happy, and may have been forced upon Handel by the limitations of the flute player, or of the instrument itself.<sup>50</sup> The autograph bears Handel's direction for the transposition of the movement down a tone: this does not seem to have achieved the desired effect, for the movement was then deleted, probably taking No. 3 with it. This alteration wrecks both the tonal scheme and the musical contrasts within the anthem. It also removes one of the anthem's most attractive movements.

The text of the anthem is from Psalm 96. The psalm, or parts of it, had been set by English composers: Purcell and Blow had composed versions with orchestral accompaniment and Weldon a more modest verse anthem. Perhaps Handel knew Purcell's setting. If so, he would doubtless have approved of the chorus entry 'Glory and Worship are before him' (Verse 6), interpolated with fine effect after the solo bass movement "Declare his honour" (Verse 3) - a rousing homophonic choral outburst very much in the style cultivated by Handel himself. The text of Weldon's anthem was printed in Divine Harmony.<sup>51</sup> Weldon's choice of verses (1,2,3,4,6,9 and 10) was almost identical with Handel's.<sup>52</sup> Handel, or whoever was responsible for advising him, may have started from Weldon's text and then, looking back at the psalm, seen the possibilities of replacing verse 10 with verse 11, so that 'Let the whole earth stand in awe of him' leads into 'Let the heavens rejoice'.<sup>53</sup> This arrangement makes for an effective transition both verbally and musically. Handel later did justice to the omitted verse 10 in other anthems.

- 54 The only immediate antecedent for this combination seems to be 'O Lord, save thy people' from Croft's D major Te Deum. There is, it is true, a solo oboe part in the first section of No. 4 of the Utrecht Te Deum, but there the oboe has to share the material with a violin part.
- 55 The use of small-note ornaments seems to be a particular feature of the Chapel Royal autographs of this period. It is curious that in both this anthem and the Caroline Te Deum such grace notes occur only in the first movement.
- 56 Purcell, having achieved the initial contrast, modulates fairly quickly to the relative major: Handel's complete movement is related to the tonic minor.
- 57 Presumably Baker's ambitions were directed towards a clerical rather than a musical career. Although Handel's demands on the bass voice in Anthem 4A are substantially less than the cavortings he had introduced into Nell' Africane selve or Aci, Galatea e Polifemo from the Italian period, the music he composed for Baker requires a 2-octave range and an agile technique.



The first movement of Anthem 4A has the same plan as the opening of the Utrecht Jubilate: a verse for solo alto with instrumental obbligato, leading into a choral re-statement of the same text. The solo instrument this time is the oboe<sup>54</sup> and the introductory ritornello is interesting for its ornamented version of the theme, including three-note "slides" written as grace notes.<sup>55</sup> Some of the movement's musical motifs are reminiscent of No. 5 of the Utrecht Jubilate. Handel's setting of the opening text is, if anything, more true to English stresses than Purcell's (Ex. 4).

Ex. 4

Handel:

Purcell:

The text of the psalm poses a problem in that the first two verses are so similar: Handel, like Purcell, seeks contrast by setting the second movement in a minor key.<sup>56</sup> Handel's binary form aria sets verse 2 for the first half and verse 3 for the second. If the tone of the music seems a little dark for the text, Handel's compositional skill keeps the music alive with skilful transitions between vocal and instrumental parts.

If the music of Nos. 3 and 4 was Handel's response to Baker's vocal prowess, one can only regret that this singer was so self-effacing later in life.<sup>57</sup> The recitative, No. 3, has a liveliness reminiscent of Purcell's best writing for Gostling. It is difficult to believe that Handel wrote this movement without some knowledge of Purcell's best bass solos. In October 1714 Handel may even have met Gostling himself, since the more superannuated members of the

58 Gostling was about 65 years of age in 1714:  
he was still alive at the time of the next  
Coronation in 1727, but had retired to  
Canterbury by then.

59. No names are given against the voices of  
the duet. The regular partners Hughs and  
Whely spring to mind, but the duet could  
equally well have been sung by Elford and  
Baker.

Chapel Royal probably had to appear at the Coronation.<sup>58</sup> The dancing ostinato patterns of No. 4 also seem to owe something to Purcell. Baker seems to have specialised in this type of movement which has obvious similarities with his solo in No. 2 of the Caroline Te Deum.

The ensuing duet, No. 5, although it uses a traditional combination of Chapel Royal voices,<sup>59</sup> really harks back to Handel's Italian duets. The smooth, interwoven technique characteristic of these duets suits the "beauty of holiness" in the text but not the following verse: the second half of the duet is rather sterile and Handel was right to replace it with the chorus setting, where the "whole earth" stands in awe to thunderous effect against held pedal notes. The original duet was written to a straightforward binary plan. Handel retained the first half, bringing in the chorus in the "mid-point" key of B flat and gradually leading back to the G minor tonic. In this movement and the next Handel seems to be thoroughly enjoying himself. No. 6, though brief, is the model for much of Handel's later church music: he applies to an English text the experience and techniques of the Latin church music of 1707, in particular the first movement of the D major Laudate Pueri. There is exuberance, almost self-indulgence, in his musical reflection of the sea making a noise, with its echo effects, broken chord figures and pauses.

Handel re-composed this anthem on a broader time-scale but for smaller forces during the Cannons period. The Chandos Anthem version is a much more mature, rounded, well-considered composition. Yet in the process something was lost. Anthem 4A has a youthful vigour, completely in accord with the nature of its text, which is lacking in the later work. Like its companion Te Deum, it deserves revival.

60 See the Supplement Conditions of Performance,  
sub 'Pitch', where Handel's <sup>n</sup>annotation is  
reproduced and discussed.



Autograph

B.L. RM.20.g.6 f.1-11 (Complete anthem) 1 Quad., 1 fol.

Insertion: 1 Un. (f.7-8)

Watermarks: Ba, Cba (f.11)

Insertion: Eng. 2

Rastrography: 12-stave @3 52.5

12-stave @ 4 76 (f.11 only)

Insertion: 12-stave @4 80.5-81

Singers named:

1. Mr. Eilfort

3. Mr. Baker

5B (bar 16) Mr. Eilfort

6. Mr. Eilfort

The unusual thickness of the main gathering of the autograph is noteworthy: compare also the autograph of the Caroline Te Deum. It is tempting to regard f.11, the single sheet of Cba paper, as the missing sheet from the final gathering of the Te Deum autograph. Unfortunately, this can not be so: although the final binio of RM.20.g.4 demands the same quadrant of the sheet for completion, the moulds of the watermarks are not the same. Nevertheless, the use of the same paper in the two works provides certain evidence of their composition at the same period.

Nos. 2 and 3 are deleted by Handel. The two movements may not have been deleted for the same reasons, and it is possible that Handel's removal of No. 3 was an accidental mistake. Their omission leaves little of the anthem remaining and ruins the structure. I have suggested that the reasons for the deletion of No. 2 may be connected with Handel's transposition instruction.<sup>60</sup> The latter is written in German schrift, which suggests that Handel was working with a German copyist or one who was expert enough in the

- 61 Two trumpeters came over with the King and there may have been other musicians, either in the official parties (such as the household servants numbering about 75 who came in the King's party) or among those who felt that there was some benefit in following the Elector. See Beattie: English Court, p.220, 258-9.
- 62 The same is true of Handel's single-page insertion into the Birthday Ode: see Chapter 4.
- 63 Jennen's collection included copies of works that were not in general circulation, such as the Comus music and the Birthday Ode. (See Matthews: Unpublished Letters and Dean: Marginalia) It is therefore all the remarkable that Anthems 4A and 6D eluded him.
- 64 This remained true even after Handel's death, when other works such as Anthem 6C seem to have become available in some form.

language and orthography to understand Handel's instructions. The comparable instructions to copyists on Anthem 6C and the Utrecht service are in French. Perhaps the copyist involved with Anthem 4A was one of the Hanoverian court musicians who had come to England with the Royal parties in September-October 1714.<sup>61</sup> An unidentified copyist, presumably working closely with the composer, wrote the link into the chorus of the revised movement 5B in the autograph (f.7).

The insertion of the chorus re-setting No. 5B is on paper of a type which is unique in Handel's autographs but which occurs frequently in the autographs of contemporary English anthem composers. It is of a poorer quality than Handel's normal papers.<sup>62</sup> Handel seems to have used whatever odd sheets of paper came to hand when he had to do last-minute revisions. In the final chorus, Handel overlooked a set of consecutives between Soprano and Tenor at bar 11: they have been tacitly corrected in Chrysander's edition.

Handel must have kept the autograph of this anthem among the odds and ends of his sketches. There are no early MS copies of this anthem at all, even in the relatively comprehensive Aylesford collection.<sup>63</sup> This total absence of copies is a distinction shared only with Anthem 6D, which similarly never went into circulation.<sup>64</sup> Handel himself must have used the autograph for reference when he composed Chandos Anthem 4.

CHAPTER SIX

INTERLUDE, 1714-1719

	page
Handel, The Chapel Royal and Court Politics after 1714	190
(Table 1 p. 199-200)	
Chandos Anthems based on previous Chapel Royal music:	
Anthem 6A	201
Anthem 4	209
Anthem 7	214
Anthem 11A	220
Anthem 3	221
Anthem 1	223
<u>Chandos</u> Te Deum	228



- 1 In October 1715, the King ordered Handel to be paid 6 months' salary for the half-year beginning Midsummer 1712. (Hammer Rechnungen, Hannover 760, vol. 237, p. 393)
- 2 WP, November 6-13, 1714: 'Tis said his Majesty does not approve of the performances of the Opera in the Hay-Market, and will, for the future, honour his Comedians with his Royal Presence, which will be of great advantage to them.'
- 3 The King attended Arminius at the Haymarket Opera House on Tuesday, 26 October. It does seem to be true that during November and December the Prince and Princess of Wales attended the operas more regularly than the King.
- 4 Rinaldo was revived on 30 December 1714. The King, with the Prince and Princess of Wales, attended the second performance, on 15 January 1715. In the absence of the autograph, we can not be certain when Handel composed Amadigi, first performed in May 1715: he may have hoped for a performance much earlier in the season.

## INTERLUDE, 1714-1719

Handel, The Chapel Royal and Court politics after 1714

The Chapel Royal performances of Handel's music before the King in September and October 1714 are clear evidence of the composer's acceptance under the new regime. The established position of the former Hanover Kapellmeister at the English Court was confirmed: a year later, the King even went so far as to grant some retrospective payment for his Hanoverian services.<sup>1</sup> Since Handel had received such signal marks of royal favour, it would seem reasonable to expect further contributions to court music from the composer - more Chapel Royal anthems, or perhaps a Birthday Ode. This did not happen. Instead we are faced with a paradoxical situation. During Queen Anne's reign Handel, a foreigner and a representative of a court which was treated with some suspicion in London, was admitted as the court composer for special occasions. During the early years of George's reign, by contrast, these activities suffer an eclipse which is so complete as to suggest that Handel's participation might have been unwelcome. He made no contribution to a Chapel Royal service for another eight years. Even in the opera house, royal favour does not seem to have advanced Handel's position. It was rumoured that the King did not intend to patronise the London opera house,<sup>2</sup> but this was proved wrong within a week of the Coronation.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, Handel's operas were not given a place in the Haymarket repertoire for another two months, and even then it was a revival of Rinaldo rather than a new opera.<sup>4</sup>

Far from being an advantage, Handel's previous Hanoverian associations may have proved an embarrassment during the years immediately following 1714. Some resentment naturally grew up against the 'German' party at court, with which Handel must have been iden-

- 5 See Beattie: English Court, p. 238-9, also p. 258. By 1720 many of the King's Hanoverian advisers (and mistresses) had become considerably anglicised. Hatton (George I) sees a change of emphasis in George's policies after 1718 from a 'Hanoverian' to a 'British' bias.
- 6 Eccles composed all of the New Year and Birthday Cdes of the reign: there is a complete record of payments to him for the Cdes from New Year 1715 to Birthday 1727 in P.R.O. LC5/156-159 and LC5/18.
- 7 The Lord is a Sun and a Shield. Early copy, in the hand of James Kent, British Library RM.24.g.2.
- 8 Printed Thanksgiving liturgy (A Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving ...) Ob. Pamph. 323(3). The service at St. Paul's seems to have provoked some sort of demarcation dispute between the choirs of the Chapel Royal and St. Paul's: see the note by the Sub-Dean, OCB, p. 87.
- 9 The canticles are those specified in the printed liturgy. Although the set psalms include Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous, I do not think that Croft's setting was the anthem for this particular Thanksgiving: see Chapter 7, Table 2.
- 10 I believe B.L. Add. MS. 17845 to be the score prepared for the 1714 Thanksgiving. James Kent was given the task of transferring material from the earlier version, which was then revised by the composer. The Te Deum can be compared with the original version in Lcm MS 840. The performing parts, University of Birmingham, Barber MS 5007a-b, were prepared in 1709 and revised in 1715.  
See also Chapter 4, Table 1.
- 11 See Supplement, Conditions of Performance, on the subject of the Chapel Royal 'Altos'.

tified. This resentment continued until the fall of Bernstorff in 1719-20,<sup>5</sup> and even after that 'German domination' remained an effective battle-cry for opposition programmes. The Chapel Royal, one of the repositories of traditionally English court culture, could not remain unaffected by the political climate. If the King wished to demonstrate his good faith in his new country, he did well to patronise the English musicians. Although the Chapel Royal was the King's private chapel, his weekly Sunday appearances there were part of the normal public functions of monarchy and were closely observed. It was politically expedient that the music for the King's devotions, like that for the Court odes,<sup>6</sup> was once again seen to be provided by native born English talent.

Croft had composed the orchestrally-accompanied anthem for the 1714 Coronation<sup>7</sup> and it is not altogether surprising that he was called upon to provide the music for the first Thanksgiving service of the reign. On 20 January 1714/5 the King went to St. Paul's Cathedral on the day appointed for the Thanksgiving "for bringing His Majesty to a Peaceable and Quiet Possession of the Throne, and thereby Disappointing the Designs of the Pretender and all his Adherents".<sup>8</sup> This was a service following the traditions of the previous reign, with all the attendant ceremony. Croft's contributions were an anthem and the Morning Prayer canticles of Te Deum and Jubilate.<sup>9</sup> The canticles were revised versions of those originally composed for the Thanksgiving in February 1708/9. The revisions are instructive,<sup>10</sup> falling into two categories. Firstly, Elford's solos were adapted or re-written to bring them within Hughes' range. These alterations reveal the differences between the voices of the two alto soloists and lend support to the suggestion that one might have been a "countertenor" and the other an "alto".<sup>11</sup> The most extended alto solo, 'Vouchsafe, O Lord' from the Te Deum



12 The main alterations were as follows:

Te Deum: (Movement numberings from printed edition)

Nos. 2 and 3 Strings added

Nos. 4 and 9 Solo range altered

No. 12 New movement composed, with orchestra

No. 15 Solo range altered, bars 85-end recomposed.

No. 16 End of Chorus extended, from 21 bars, to 38.

Jubilate: 'O go your way into his gates', originally  
a solo for Elford, recomposed as a chorus.

demanded the most alteration. In two places Croft effected the necessary changes by adjusting the voice part (See Ex. 1.), but

Ex. 1 William Croft: *Te Deum*. [Orchestral parts omitted]

Ⓐ Original 1708/q version - for Elford Ⓑ 1715 revisions - ? for Hughes.  
The revisions were made by the composer in red ink in RCM MS 840.

50

Ⓐ Voice *Lord, O* *Lord.*

B.c.

50

Ⓑ Voice *Lord, O* *Lord,*

B.c.

65

Ⓐ Voice *have mer- - - - cy up-on us,*

B.c.

65

Ⓑ Voice *have mer- - - - cy up-on us,*

B.c.

the last twenty bars he had to re-compose the music to suit the new soloist.

The second group of alterations was mainly directed towards increasing the orchestral participation. String parts were added to movements which previously had only had continuo accompaniment and a movement or two recomposed into forms which included orchestral parts. The chorus work was also extended a little.<sup>12</sup> These alterations modified the character of his music considerably: the revised version is altogether more robust and it is not extravagant to

- 13 This is only a possibility. Although the 1708/9 Royal Thanksgiving took place at St. James's Palace, Croft may reasonably have expected a service at St. Paul's when he composed the music.
- 14 Purcell (as also Blow and Turner) had set this verse as a chorus. However, Croft's movement (141 bars) is closer in scale to Handel's (162 bars) than to Purcell's (34 bars), and Croft also follows Handel by his excursion into 'flat' keys instead of Purcell's D major.
- 15 Dawks, January 20, 1714/5. Similar reports appeared in PB and EP dated 18-20 January.
- 16 See Hatton: George I, p.291. The Thanksgiving was celebrated on 7 June 1716. The newspapers expected the King to go to St. Paul's. (Dawks, May 5 and WP, April 28-May 5)
- 17 See Appendix 12.
- 18 The Dettingen music was composed with a scoring more appropriate for St. Paul's Cathedral than St. James's Palace. In 1749 Handel was more circumspect: the Peace Anthem seems to have been composed with a medium-sized scoring so that it could be adapted to the venue.

characterise the difference as the transmutation of a "Purcellian" work into a "Handelian" one. Croft may have made his revisions with the difference between performing conditions at St. James's and St. Paul's in mind,<sup>13</sup> but it seems much more likely that he brought the music up to date in the light of his experience of Handel's 'Utrecht' service. The new choral treatment of 'O go your way into his gates' in the Jubilate in particular shows the influence of Handel's long movement at this point.<sup>14</sup>

The newspaper reporting of Croft's music reflects the changed outlook which affected Handel's relationship to the Chapel Royal. Whereas all reports of the Utrecht music had been consistently complimentary, those of Croft's 1714/5 music end with a sting in the tail which was surely directed at Handel:

Dr. Croft's Te Deum and Jubilate, were this Day perform'd at St. Paul's before the King by the Gentlemen of the Chappel Royal, and the rest of His Majesty's Musick, which, to the Honour of our Nation, are for their Aire, Contrivance, and Solemnity of the Harmony, esteemed by good Judges, the best Compositions; and the Te Deum comes up to the Performance of the famous Dr. Henry Purcell; who far exceeded all foreigners.<sup>15</sup>

For the next five years Croft had the monopoly in providing music for Court services involving instrumentally-accompanied music. Not that the King gave many opportunities in this direction. He refused to go to St. Paul's on the next Thanksgiving day<sup>16</sup> and in doing so set a new precedent. No English monarch set foot inside the Cathedral for a Thanksgiving Service until George III went to celebrate the recovery of his health and sanity in 1789,<sup>17</sup> though circumstantial evidence suggests that Handel was expecting George II to go there at least once in the 1740's.<sup>18</sup>

It would obviously be false to pretend that Handel's dis-



19 See Chapter 4, Supra, Note 5.

20 The Opera season closed at the end of July, 1715.  
There were no performances during the autumn of  
that year, but the next season began in February  
1715/6. See the reference from Colman: Opera  
Registers, quoted in Deutsch: Handel, p. 68.

21 See Hatton: George I, p. 193-210.

22 This patronage was recorded in the cast-lists  
in the libretti for Rinaldo (November 1712)  
and Amadigi (May 1715).

23 The last performance was Tito Manlio,  
29 June 1717.

24 See Chapter 7, Note 24 infra, concerning the  
evidence for this visit.

association from the Chapel Royal affected more than the periphery of his life. He continued, in any case, to receive the £200 pension which seems to have been the reward for his earlier contributions to English court music.<sup>19</sup> He was more seriously affected by the break-up in social and political life which took place in 1717. Court patronage of the opera house was essential to its survival in London. With this support the operas survived the scares and upheavals of the Jacobite " '15",<sup>20</sup> but when the Court became divided in the political crisis of 1717 they could not continue. The culmination of the crisis was the separation between the King and the Prince of Wales after the royal christening in November 1717. The traditional interpretation of this event in terms of a deep-seated hatred between father and son is rather superficial: the christening row was the culmination of a polarisation in political life which had been developing over the previous six months as the Prince of Wales became the focus for opposition to his father's government.<sup>21</sup> One of Handel's opera soloists, the soprano Pilotti, was under the patronage of the Princess of Wales,<sup>22</sup> but this would not have been an insurmountable obstacle to the continuance of the operas if the division had simply been a domestic one within the royal family. The social division among the nobility and the men of power ran much deeper, and nobody was in the mood to support opera. The opera house doors closed at the end of the 1716-7 season and did not open again for nearly three years.<sup>23</sup>

Handel must have been placed in a difficult position by the 1717 crisis, especially if he had been welcome in a private capacity among the inner circle of the Royal family during the years 1714-7. If he went abroad during the second half of 1716<sup>24</sup> this would have been diplomatically convenient, since those who had attended the Prince in England during the King's absence were later

- 25 See Chapter 3, Footnote 34, supra. Handel also seems to have been patronised by the Milmansegges, who were not on the best of terms with the Princess.
- 26 See Burrows: Water Music. Since writing those notes, I have discovered that my interpretation was anticipated by Yorke-Long: George II.
- 27 The Prince and Princess of Wales left St. James's Palace on 30 November, 1717, and the King issued a 'circular letter' about a month later ordering that those who attended the Prince were forbidden the Royal Presence. One of the first effects was that the Prince ceased to attend the Chapel Royal, going instead to the parish church of St. James's.
- 28 Beattie: English Court, p. 264 et seq.
- 29 P.R.O. LC5/157, p. 157
- 30 The evidence of Handel's letters and a newspaper report leads to the conclusion that Handel left London at the end of February 1718/9. See Deutsch: Handel, p. 84-88. The fact that the Royal Academy of Music's 'Instructions' were not issued until May 1719 can not be regarded as sound evidence that Handel was still in London in May.
- 31 Mainwaring's statement (Memoirs, p. 93) is supported by the preface dedicatory in the libretto of Amadigi.
- 32 Brydges himself was musical, and had been an early member of the Oxford Music Club when he was an undergraduate in the 1690's. See Crum: Oxford
- 33 Deutsch: Handel, p. 78

suspected of supporting the opposition. Handel was of the same generation as the Prince and it is generally assumed, largely on the basis of anecdote concerning the composition of the Italian duets, that he was patronised by the Princess.<sup>25</sup> The music which Handel provided for the famous 1717 Thames party seems to have been a gesture re-affirming his support for the King.<sup>26</sup> It is the last we hear of Handel's association with the Royal Family until the King and the Prince were re-united in 1720. Presumably he found it invidious to have to choose between two mutually exclusive courts.<sup>27</sup> The King made strenuous efforts to make his court lavishly attractive in 1718-9,<sup>28</sup> but Handel took no part in the festivities: Croft provided a harpsichord, and probably the music, for the theatrical entertainment at Hampton Court.<sup>29</sup>

Private Patronage: James Brydges and the 'Chandos' Anthems.

Handel's activities following the closure of the opera house in 1717 are poorly documented. This in itself is a sign that Handel was not conspicuous in court circles. Two things can be said with certainty, that Handel composed music for the Earl of Carnarvon during this period and that he was abroad for most of 1719.<sup>30</sup> Private patronage in some measure compensated for the loss of income from the opera house. Handel was no stranger to such patronage, and he seems to have received support in 1714-5 from the Earl of Burlington.<sup>31</sup> When Burlington left England for a visit to the continent in August 1717, Handel probably turned to Carnarvon.<sup>32</sup> There is no evidence that Handel ever lived as part of Carnarvon's entourage, either at Cannons or in London, nor do we know of any financial arrangements for the composer's support. A letter from Carnarvon to Arbuthnot dated 25 September 1717<sup>33</sup> reveals that Handel had composed half of the 'Chandos' anthems by that date: the



- 34 For the date of Acis and Galatea, see Patrick Rogers:  
'Dating Acis and Galatea', MT cxiv (August 1973), p.792.  
I am informed by Terence Best that a dated copy of  
Esther from the Malmesbury Collection also suggests  
Esther, formerly attributed to 1720, may also have  
been composed in 1718. My guess is that Esther was  
probably composed late 1718- early 1719.
- 35 Baker & Baker: Brydges, p. 107.  
Brydges had resigned the office in 1713.
- 36 Ibid, p.111, 126
- 37 Stowe MS ST 44 includes lists of the Duke's estab-  
lishments at New Year 1720/1 and New Year 1721/2.  
The former has about 140 names, including 20 at  
'The Musick Table': the latter has 93 names, of which  
3 at most are musicians. As far as the evidence of  
the Chandos papers goes, there is nothing to refute  
the general impression that there was no substantial  
musical establishment at Cannons during the 1720's.
- 38 Hatton: George I, p. 155
- 39 GEP June 2-5, 1716
- 40 PB August 22-24 1717. At this period Brydges was  
'fishing' for his Dukedom - see WJSP, July 20 1717.
- 41 See Deutsch: Handel, p. 112
- 42 WR April 7 1716: 'The same Day (Sunday April 1) the  
Reverend Dr. Bridges preached an excellent Sermon on  
the Parish Church of Edgeworth; which Church was  
lately beautified by the Right Honourable the Earl of  
Carnarvon, at his own Cost and Charges, with curious  
Workmanship. The said Noble Peer, after Divine Ser-  
vice (which he attended) made a splendid Entertainment,  
at his Lordship's Seat at Canons-House, where were  
present several Persons of Note'.

remainder, plus the Chandos Te Deum, Acis and Galatea and Esther, were probably composed during the following twelve months.<sup>34</sup> From Handel's point of view, it was a fortunate coincidence that this patronage came at the right moment in Carnarvon's own career. Since 1713, Carnarvon's main ambitions had been directed towards the creation of his Cannons estate. A long wrangle over his period of office as Paymaster was finally concluded when his accounts were audited in the early months of 1717,<sup>35</sup> after which he was free to devote more time to his own affairs. In April 1717 he was examining the state of his musical establishment.<sup>36</sup> He was near to the height of his fortune: by 1721 he had lost money in the South Sea Bubble and, although Cannons was maintained, his own ambitions were centred on the project of a new residence in central London.<sup>37</sup> Brydges seems to have been favoured by the King.<sup>38</sup> He attended the Prince of Wales' water party on the Thames in June 1716<sup>39</sup> and dined with the King at Hampton Court on 22 August 1717,<sup>40</sup> by which time Handel was probably already at work on the Chandos Anthems. He, like Handel, no doubt took the opportunity to remain out of court life as the political climate grew more divided.

In his letter to Arbuthnot, referred to above, Carnarvon invited him to 'take Cannons in on your way to London' to hear Handel's music. The Chapel incorporated into the Cannons house was not opened until August 1720,<sup>41</sup> so there can be no doubt that the Chandos Anthems were first performed in the adjacent parish church of St. Lawrence. Brydges had begun his development programme at Cannons by 'modernishing' this church, which re-opened with its new furnishings on Easter Sunday, 1716.<sup>42</sup> In its new form the church was arranged like a private chapel - in fact, just like the Chapel Royal - with west end galleries for the Duke and his servants. Handel's anthems were almost certainly performed in the unpewed

- 43 The list of the Cannons establishment at New Year 1720/1 in ST 44 gives the following picture of the musical strength at its height: 3 Violin 1, 3 Violin 2, Viola, 'Cello, Bassoon, Trumpet, Oboe, 3 Trebles, 1 'Contralto', 2 Countertenors, 1 Tenor, 2 Basses.
- 44 I shall refer to the ensemble movements for the full forces in the Chandos Anthems as 'Choruses', while noting that fact that some of them may have been sung one-to-a-part in the early Chandos Anthems.
- 45 The only real exception is the Dettingen Te Deum which, as already noted, may have been composed with a service at St. Paul's Cathedral in mind.
- 46 Anthem 4 is the only Chandos Anthem which can be performed comfortably within 20 minutes. My timings of the Chandos Anthems include the opening Sinfonie, which are clearly connected to their Anthems in the autographs. Brydges' letter to Arbuthnot includes a rather enigmatic reference to 'Overtures to be plaied before the first lesson'. To divorce the Anthems from their present overtures would present artistic problems, for example in No. 1 where the Sinfonia ends on the dominant chord, or in No. 5 where the first chorus entry has to pitch the note from the Sinfonia. It is difficult to believe that the Anthems and their Sinfonie were not performed together. One later anthem, No. 9 (possibly the last to be composed), lacks any separate Sinfonia, as also does the Chandos Te Deum.



area near the altar at the east end. The parallel between a box at the opera and the west end gallery at St. Lawrence's church is one that strikes the visitor to this well-preserved church today.

Handel put his previous experience of English church music to good use at Cannons. Four Chandos Anthems are based mainly on previous Chapel Royal works and three others contain material derived from Chapel Royal music in various proportions, from limited motivic references to arrangements of complete movements. His procedure in adapting the Chapel Royal music was to reduce the scoring and increase the length. In place of the Chapel Royal choir and the King's musicians he was dealing with a chamber group with one, or at most two, singers to a part and a handful of instrumentalists.<sup>43</sup> This naturally shifted the musical balance towards the inclusion of more extended movements for solo singers, in the form of orchestally-accompanied arias. In As pants the Hart and O sing unto the Lord, probably the first two Chandos Anthems to be composed, the choruses from the Chapel Royal anthems were used as pillars for new structures, supporting fresh solo movements.<sup>44</sup>

The addition of fresh solo movements inevitably increased the length of the anthems. Most of Handel's compositions intended for performance in the Chapel Royal, St. James's Palace, are of 15 to 20 minutes' duration.<sup>45</sup> The Chandos Anthems are generally about five minutes longer,<sup>46</sup> with the tendency for the later ones to run longer still, towards half an hour. It seems that the Earl of Carnarvon enjoyed more leisurely devotions than the King.

Material from each of Handel's previous Chapel Royal compositions was pressed into service for the Chandos Anthems: the Utrecht Te Deum alone escaped with but a small levy. As will be seen in Chapters 7-9, many of the newly-composed Chandos Anthems were re-worked in their turn to suit later Chapel Royal conditions.



48 Reprinted in Baker & Baker : Brydges, p. 134, et seq.

49 When I first tried to make some sense of the order of the Chandos Anthems in 1976-7, I based the results partly on an assumption that the Cannons forces showed a steady gradual increase. This produces a slightly different ordering of the pairs, agreeing with that worked out independently by Graydon Beeks. My knowledge of the paper characteristics of Handel's autographs has been refined since then, and I now believe that the 'Cummings' order is probably the correct one. For the present purpose, the differences between the two chronologies are not of major significance.

Carnarvon's letter to Arbuthnot reveals that Handel composed the first Chandos Anthems in pairs, and it is possible to identify these pairings with some confidence. Table 1 gives these pairings in a sequence which is probably that of composition. If this order is correct, it appears that Handel began his assignment by reworking two complete Chapel Royal anthems as the first pair. In the next two pairs, one work from each was based largely on pre-existing Chapel Royal music. By then Handel had consumed most of his earlier music, and the later Chandos Anthems contain less material derived from Chapel Royal sources. Consideration will now be given to the revisions that Handel made to the Chapel Royal music in the composition of the Chandos Anthems. The chronology of the Cannons music presented in Table 1 will be followed.

Chapter 6 Table 1Chandos Anthems and Canticles, grouped into pairs and  
arranged in probable order of composition

The works marked \* include material derived from earlier Chapel Royal music. Those marked " include material which was drawn upon by Handel for later Chapel Royal works.

<u>Pair</u>	<u>Title and (Number)</u>	<u>Chapel Royal</u>
I	As pants the Hart (6A)	* "
	O sing unto the Lord (4)	*
II	My song shall be alway (7)	* "
	Let God arise (11A)	* "
III	Have mercy upon me (3)	* "
	O be joyful in the Lord (1) (Jubilate)	*
IV	In the Lord put I my trust (2)	
	I will magnifie Thee (5A)	"
V	Te Deum in B flat major	* "
	O come, let us sing unto the Lord (8)	"
VI	O praise the Lord (9)	
	The Lord is my light (10)	

Notes: The order of the pairs I - V is based on the sequence in the 'Cummings' MS.<sup>47</sup> The last two anthems, which are not included in this MS, must have been the final pair to be composed: they, and the two works given as pair V, may not have been as closely linked to each other as the earlier pairs.

The present location of the Cummings MS is unknown: there is therefore no way of examining the assertion that the scribe delib-

47 See Cummings: Duke of Chandos, p. 11-12, and also  
the catalogue of the sale of Cummings' Music  
Collection (Sotheby, 1917) where the MS appears as  
No. 816.



erately reproduced the anthems in their order of composition.

However, the general sequence is confirmed by reference to two other sources:

(a) An examination of the structure of the Pepusch/Noland 1720 catalogue of the Duke of Chandos' music<sup>48</sup> confirms the pairings. The paired anthems appear consecutively in the list, and the descriptions of the scorings of pairs I - III are given in an abbreviated form which suggests that the anthems concerned belong together.

(b) Analysis of the papers of the anthem autographs confirms the order of composition, moving through a succession of watermarks (D1, Bd, Cba) and rastra (04 86, ? 04 73, 01) in a consistent, though not simple sequence.<sup>49</sup> The order is confused because Handel seems to have had several batches of different paper available during the period of composition: 'earlier' papers turn up in 'later' works as Handel used up the remaining sheets.

The order given in the table does not fit tidily with the hypothesis of a steady growth in the size of the Cannons establishment. Pair II demands one more voice than pairs I, III and IV. The Te Deum and Anthem 10 each demand three tenors, one more than is required by their companion anthems. It will be noted that Handel wrote for 'Alto' voice in Pair II only.

50 As will be seen in Chapter 8, this story was repeated with the Chapel Royal anthems of the 1720's.

51 See Chapter 3 Table 2.

52 The title 'Sonata' which appears on the autograph was, I believe, added in the 1730's in connection with the Trio Sonatas, Op. 5.

As Pants the Hart (Anthem 6A)

The rather eclectic text which Handel set earlier in the decade as Anthem 6C obviously held an attraction for him. It is almost as if the composer's certainty about the content of this anthem led him to treat it as a "starter" when he had to begin a new series of anthems: just as 6C is probably his earliest English anthem, so 6A is probably his first Chandos anthem.<sup>50</sup> For the Cannons version Handel amended some of the words. In the first movement "As paints the Hart" became "As pants the Hart", and "for Thee, O Lord" became "for Thee, O God"; in the second movement "When thus they say" became "While thus they say". These alterations bring the text closer to the forms of the sources suggested in Chapter 3<sup>51</sup> and, were it not for some relapses in later settings, they might be taken as a sign that Handel's command of the English language had become more assured. He still retained "In the voice of praise of thanksgiving" however, and indeed never corrected this form in his later versions of the anthem. The concluding "Amen" did not survive the transfer from 6C and never returned in the later settings.

The process of turning Anthem 6C into a form suitable for Cannons involved re-thinking the music in terms which would employ the orchestral instruments most effectively. In the chorus movements, Nos. 2 and 5, this could be done by simple re-arrangement. The solo movements had to be recomposed in any case, but even they include some features derived from Anthem 6C and only in the final chorus did Handel depart completely from the music of the earlier setting. The music derived from the Chapel Royal anthem was transposed downwards: the implications of this are considered in the Supplement Conditions of Performance. The opening Sinfonia of 6A,<sup>52</sup> of course, has no parallel in the anthem's Chapel Royal predecessor.

- . 53 No speed is indicated in Anthem 6C for this movement. It is probable that Handel took this movement more slowly at Cannons than at the Chapel Royal.



No. 2 Chorus: As pants the hart

The source movement in Anthem 6C was for six voices with basso continuo accompaniment. Handel made two attempts at laying-out the opening bars but, once the initial decisions had been made, it was a fairly straightforward matter for him to re-distribute the material for three voices, violins, oboe, three instrumental bass parts and organ. Two of the instrumental bass parts (Contrabasso and Bassoon) largely double the vocal bass line, and some of the independent material from the vocal first bass in 6C is used an octave higher (6A Canto, Bars 8-12; Violin 2 bars 16-17). The amount of new material in the main body of the movement is very small. There are odd bars of additional instrumental counterpoint, some of them (such as the oboe part at 14-16 or the second violin at 43-44) of thematic significance; only one new passage is of any length (violin 2, bars 18-26) and this is undistinguished except for the cunning with which its end incorporates the former tenor part in such a way as to avoid the augmented 4th which occurred at this point in 6C. There are one or two changes of detail: a speed (Adagio) is specified,<sup>53</sup> and the dotted rhythm of the opening bars of the main theme is amended to plain crotchets. Handel transferred his solo (verse) and tutti (chorus) indications from 6C, but it is doubtful whether the strength of the Cannons establishment allowed any significant difference in practice.

The only re-composition in this movement occurs in the final bars. Up to bar 47, the Cannons version can be regarded as an arrangement of the Chapel Royal version. The succeeding two bars are re-written, replacing the rhetorical pause of 6C with an "echo" phrase before the final choral cadence. The instrumental postlude was reduced from 4 bars to 2: this is perhaps a surprising alteration in view of Handel's tendency towards expansion rather than contraction in the Chandos Anthems.

- 54 The bass of the new movement has a resemblance to the bass of No. 5 of Anthem 6C. The instrumental introduction in 6A is based on the subsequent vocal and orchestral material: the relationship between this introduction and the similar movement from a Dresden Trio Sonata (Chrysander Op. 2 No. 3, HG xxvii, p. 112) is difficult to determine until the provenance of the latter is better established, but on the face of it, the Trio Sonata would appear to be the later work.
- 55 Both settings of this movement are in the same key, A minor, but owing to the transposition, this has a different relationship to the tonal centres of the two anthems.

No. 3: Tears are my daily food

Here Handel discarded his previous ground-bass type movement.<sup>54</sup> The principle of setting these words in triple time in a related minor key is retained<sup>55</sup> and both movements end with similar imperfect cadences, but otherwise it is the differences rather than the similarities which are most readily apparent. The Cannons movement is on a much larger scale and follows a binary plan: the second half, beginning at bar 68 after the dominant cadence, repeats the complete verbal text. The musical content seems more mature, but part of the dramatic impact is lost as the result of the repetition. there is some compensation for this in the new interest provided by a dotted rhythm orchestral figure, which grows from a decorative commentary (bars 35-36) into a powerful outburst reinforcing the text at bar 55. In Anthem 6C Handel rivets attention at "Where is now thy God?" by returning to the opening bass and tonality: in 6A this is effected by the instrumental entry at 55. Both methods are effective, though the later one is perhaps rather less subtle. Some features of the earlier version are retained. Both settings include angular melodic shapes outlining augmented or diminished intervals. The long note on 'Tears', entering on a weak beat, is also an idea carried forward from the Chapel Royal version.

No. 4: Now when I think thereupon

As in Anthem 6C Handel seems to have felt that this part of the text demanded some novel instrumental obbligato part. In 6A the novelty is the 'Harpeggio' violin solo against a background of quaver chords. The structure of the movement follows that of 6C, breaking into recitative (this time orchestrally accompanied) at 'I went with the multitude'. The addition of the word 'For' at bar 19 does something to eliminate the hiatus which was one of the

56 Compare the similar alteration to the rhythm of  
the subject in the opening chorus of the anthem.



weaknesses of 6C at this point. There are echoes of the melodic line from the earlier setting at bar 9, and the text of the recitative section also suggested the same rhythms, if not exactly the same melodic shapes, as before. Strangely enough, where Handel changes the rhythms the result is not always an improvement in the stress patterns (See Ex. 2).

**Ex. 2**

Anthem 6C  
For I went with the multitude, and brought them out into the House of God

Anthem 6A  
For I went with the multi-tude, and brought them out in-to the House of God

No. 5: In the voice of praise of thanksgiving

The original movement in Anthem 6C was 29 bars long. For the first 25 bars Handel kept to the track of the original, re-arranging the material to suit the Cannons forces and, as with the previous chorus, this entailed the addition of very little new material. The string chords which he added at bars 22-3 give strength to a passage that was previously rather thin. There is one significant amendment to the subject in the movement: the addition of semi-quavers to the second phrase (Ex. 3).

**Ex. 3**

Anthem 6C  
a-nong such as keep ho-ly-Day

Anthem 6A  
a-nong such as keep ho-ly-Day

There is also a minor modification to the rhythm of the Bass part at bar 13, replacing a dotted rhythm with plain crotchets.<sup>56</sup>

From bar 26 Handel extended and re-composed the last part of the movement. Handel added a new 16-bar passage comprising two sections:

57 The inverted form of the subject was not used at  
all in the original movement from Anthem 6C.



Ex. 4

@ Opening

Anthem  
6C

why so full of grief

O my soul, O my soul

Second figure

Anthem  
6A

why so full of grief

O my Soul, O my soul

Treble  
Anthem 6C  
Alto

O my Soul, O my soul

Treble  
Anthem 6A  
Tenor

O my Soul, O my soul



(1) Bars 26-35: An exposition, based mostly on an inverted form of the subject (5 entries),<sup>57</sup> but culminating in a tonic re-entry of the subject in its original presentation.

(2) Bars 36-41: Closing section, with a dominant pedal, over which there are three inverted entries of the opening bar of the subject, and three normal entries. The cumulative effect of these entries is heightened by a stretto in bar 38, where inverted and normal entries overlap.


The final bars of the movement (42-44) are an expanded version of the last two bars of the source movement in 6C.

#### No. 6: Why so full of grief?


Handel rejected the movement from 6C in favour of a new setting, though he retained the idea of setting the text as a minor-key duet in triple time. The replacement naturally gains from the opportunities provided by the use of orchestral instruments but some striking features of the earlier movement are lost, in particular the repetition of "Why?" at the opening. The new movement appears to be totally original, but closer inspection reveals that Handel must have had the earlier movement in mind when he wrote it. The two are closely related, both in melodic details and in general plan. The opening figure may have developed from a hint found in bar 9 of the earlier version, and the second important figure of the movement is also an elaboration of a parallel passage in the earlier movement. The principle of one part moving against a sustained note in the other voice also re-appears. (See Ex. 4).

There are some improvements to the words. In 6A Handel remembered, as he had not done in 6C, to include the word "so" consistently in the phrase "Why so disquieted", and he improved things by arranging for the long note to fall on the middle syllable of "disquieted"

58 One rather less happy alteration to the word underlay is apparent in the autograph. At the cadence in bars 45-7 Handel originally set the text thus:


  
 dis--quie-      ted with-in      me

Allowing for the conventional treatment of the hemiola, this produces a better emphasis than his revised form:


  
 dis--quie-                      ted with-in me

59 The close relationship between the two movements seems to establish the chronological priority of the movement from Anthem 6A over the fourth movement of the Trio Sonata Op. 2 No. 1 (published c. 1730, no autograph extant), which develops the same thematic material on a different plan. The thematic material appears, in any case, to have been generated in the first place by the rhythms suggested by the text.

60 Both of these matters are dealt with in detail in the Supplement, Conditions of Performance. Handel decided on the key of the anthem as a whole before he commenced the composition: it is particularly clear in the autograph of this anthem that the Sinfonia and the first vocal movement were composed together.

rather than on the word "me".<sup>58</sup> Table 2 gives an outline comparison of the structure of the two movements. The similarities are obvious and confirm that, in spite of immediate appearances, Handel used the movement from 6C as the basis for his new movement.<sup>59</sup>

No. 7: Put thy trust in God

A completely new setting. The last movement of Anthem 6C had been, arguably, the weakest part of the plan in that anthem, and its music provided very little opportunity for the addition of interesting orchestral material. Handel's new movement provided a contrast, by avoiding two consecutive movements in triple time, and tonal stability, by providing a completion of the anthem in the same key as the opening. The addition of the Sinfonia to the Cannons version gives a stronger sense of a 'tonic' to the anthem as a whole, and this produced a logical demand for a tonic ending. The opening tenor solo is not a flawless piece of composition, but the new movement as a whole is a great improvement on its predecessor. The lead-in from solo to tutti at bar 32 is particularly well handled.

Chapter 6 Table 2Anthem 6: Duet 'Why so full of grief?'- Comparison of the first two versionsANTHEM 6CANTHEM 6A

(Bar Nos.)

(Bar Nos.)

1	Tonic. Introduction, basso continuo.	1	Tonic. Introduction, orchestra.
18	Tonic. Vocal entries.	7	Tonic. Vocal entries.
25	Dominant minor, Chord V, followed by perfect cadence (33)	38	Dominant minor, Chord V, followed by perfect cadence (47).
40	Subdominant minor, dominant pedal followed by p.c. (47)	59	Subdominant minor, dominant pedal followed by p.c. (64).
49	Return to tonic and opening theme.	68	Return to tonic and opening theme.
58	Tonic. Dominant pedal, pause on V (67).	75	Tonic. Dominant pedal, pause on V (90).
71	Tonic. Closing ritornello, basso continuo.	94	Tonic. Closing ritornello, orchestra.



60 Both of these matters are dealt with in detail  
in the Supplement, Conditions of Performance.  
Handel decided on the key of the anthem as a  
whole before he commenced the composition: it  
is particularly clear in the autograph of this  
anthem that the Sinfonia and the first vocal  
movement were composed together.

O sing unto the Lord (Anthem 4)

Only the outer framework of the previous Chapel Royal anthem (4A) was used for the Chandos anthem: Handel adapted the opening and closing choruses but the remainder was re-composed. He also altered the selection of verses. Verse 2 (an alto solo in Anthem 4A) was omitted, and verse 3, which did not find a place in the earlier anthem, now generated a substantial chorus. Verse 4, previously an accompanied recitative, was re-composed as the continuation to the new chorus, in as massive a style as the conditions at Cannons would allow. Verse 6, which did not find a place in Anthem 4A, appears in the Chandos Anthem as a solo movement for Tenor. The first part of verse 9, "O worship the Lord", is re-cast in a completely new duet setting and it is only with the succeeding chorus that the music returns to the track of Handel's earlier anthem.

No. 2 Solo and Chorus: O sing unto the Lord

This movement was transposed from G major to F major to accommodate a treble soloist in place of the Chapel Royal alto. The voice part is therefore generally a 7th above its previous pitch, which seems rather a large transposition until it is remembered that Elford was a low '2nd alto', and that the pitch at Cannons may have been lower than that at the Chapel Royal.<sup>60</sup> The structure of the Chapel Royal movement is preserved almost exactly. In the solo section an extra bar (bar 7) is added, improving the line of the soloist's second phrase. Later on, a weak spot in the earlier anthem is tightened up by the omission of a bar (bar 16 of Anthem 4 replacing bars 15-16 of Anthem 4A). Apart from some small details, the melodic contours of the solo are preserved intact: presumably the treble soloist was competent enough to cope with music originally written for Elford. The chorus section into which the solo

61 There are some alterations to melodic details,  
but only one significant change in the harmony:  
the sharpening of the third in the chord at  
bar 25, beat 3. (The bar numbers of both versions  
coincide at this point).

.62 In context, the G minor-F major of the Chandos  
Anthem is more of a jolt than the G minor-D major  
of the Chapel Royal Anthem.

leads is a straightforward re-arrangement of the Chapel Royal music.<sup>61</sup> A second violin part was added in the closing ritornello, but otherwise hardly any additional music was called for.

No. 6 Chorus: Let the whole earth stand in awe of him

In Anthem 4A this chorus replaced the second half of a binary movement beginning in B flat major and leading back to the tonic G minor. As it happened, it was convenient to Handel's plan to have the parallel movement at this point in the Chandos anthem in G minor. This, of course, entailed re-writing the opening from B flat into G minor, so that the movement could stand by itself. The striking short phrase on which the chorus was built was amenable to re-statement in contrasted keys, and Handel found that he could use some sections of the earlier chorus as they stood. (See Table 3) The omission of the closing instrumental ritornello is interesting. It eliminates the buffer to the next chorus and in doing so emphasises a jolt between the tonality of the two movements.<sup>62</sup>

No. 7 Chorus: Let the heav'ns rejoice

This movement was transposed from D major to F major and re-composed considerably. (See Table 4) A few points call for special notice. The omission of the orchestral parts in the opening bars gives them the opportunity for an effective entry at the words 'let the sea make a noise'. The semiquaver figuration in the strings is altered from the broken chords of Anthem 4A to more scalar figures similar to those employed earlier in this Chandos anthem for the new movement "The waves of the sea". The first five bars of the chorus are closely modelled on the Chapel Royal movement and bar 6, with its transition to the relative minor, was also



Chapter 6 Table 3Anthem 4: Adaptation of chorus'Let the whole Earth' from Anthem 4A

Note: In Anthem 4A the chorus follows continuously from the preceding duet. The first bar of the chorus in this version is bar 16.

Anthem 4

(Bar Nos.)

- |       |  |
|-------|--|
| 1-4   | New opening (g minor), based on material from Anthem 4A, 16-19   |
| 5-7   | B flat major. Transcribed from 4A, bars 17½-20; 4A bar 20 shortened by ½ bar.                            |
| 8-9   | Transcribed from 4A, bars 21-22  |
| 10-13 | Replaces 4A bars 23-27 (d minor) with passages<br>B flat major → g minor,<br>and E flat major → c minor. |
| 14-17 | Transcribed from 4A, bars 27½-30.<br><br>Closing ritornello (4A, bars 31-2) omitted.                     |

Chapter 6 Table 4Anthem 4: Adaptation of chorus'Let the Heav'ns rejoice' from Anthem 4AAnthem 4

(Bar Nos.)

- |        |  |
|--------|--|
| 1-5    | Transcribed from Anthem 4A, bars 1-5,<br>but orchestral parts omitted.   |
| 6-14   | New, though based on previous material.<br>Includes dominant modulation. |
| 14½-18 | Derived from 4A, bars 5-9½.  |
| 19-20  | New, reinforcing D minor cadences.                                       |
| 21-23  | Derived from 4A, bars 9½-11.   |
| 23½-26 | New. (Modulating, B flat major returning<br>to F major tonic).           |
| 26½-27 | Based on 4A, bar 12.   |
| 28-30  | Derived from 4A, bars 12-14.<br>New semiquaver figures added.            |
| 31-32  | New, based on preceding material.  |
| 32½-34 | Derived from 4A, bars 15-16.<br>G.P. rest extended by ½ bar.             |
| 35-37  | Derived from 4A, bars 17-19.   |
- (Final cadence of 4A, bars 20-22, omitted).

63 Chrysander prints a pause over this bar, but  
there is none in the autograph.

transferred to the Chandos Anthem, but before Handel had finished writing it out he had second thoughts and deleted this continuation, replacing it with a new section which remains much more firmly tied to the tonic. When he eventually took up the thread from the earlier movement again, the Chapel Royal version provided a framework for expansion. Handel's treatment of tonality in the Chandos anthem is rather more stable, and accordingly rather less exciting in its interpretation of this text, than in the Chapel Royal version: more time is given for the listener to recognise the path of the modulations, and an element of surprise is thereby removed. Handel's rejection of the echo effects from Anthem 4A also lessens the immediate impact of the chorus in the Chandos anthem version.

Handel excised the broad final bars of the Chapel Royal version and, in spite of the rhetorical silence four bars from the end,<sup>63</sup> the conclusion of the Chandos Anthem is rather abrupt. Perhaps this is because Handel did not originally intend to end it at the same point as the Chapel Royal setting. In the autograph the chorus is followed by a tenor solo in F minor to the text of verse 13 ('For he cometh to judge the earth'), which is the last verse of the psalm. This can hardly have been intended for the last movement of the anthem, but it is none too clear what Handel did intend. There is no "S.D.G." or "Fine" at the end of the autograph: perhaps Handel planned to follow the tenor solo with a repeat of one of the earlier choruses (as Blow had done in his setting of the Psalm), or with an Alleluja (as Purcell did). Some secondary copies include the tenor movement at the end of the anthem, but many others conclude with the chorus. Handel cancelled the solo movement by crossing out the first page: he re-used the discarded music in Anthem 3.



64 In the Anthem, the phrase also re-appears again  
in the upper voices, in the course of the later  
working-out of the chorus.

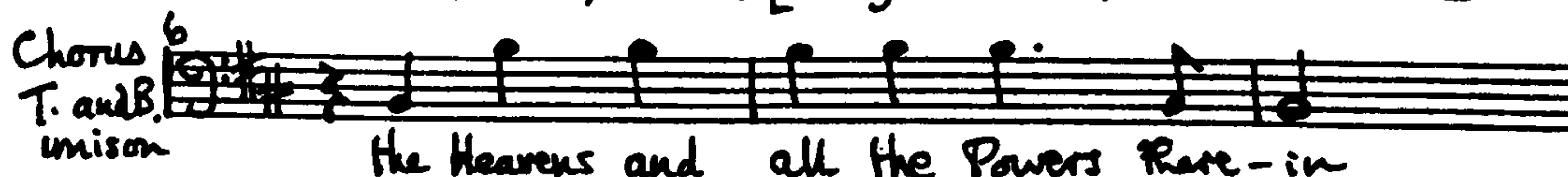
My song shall be alway (Anthem 7)

Handel may not have foreseen that he would eventually produce a setting of the Te Deum for the Cannons forces, for he used up much of the musical material from the Caroline Te Deum in this anthem. The sections which presented themselves as most suitable for adaptation were the longer self-contained movements. Handel re-arranged three complete movements, two solos and a chorus. There is also one passing reference to music from the Utrecht Te Deum.

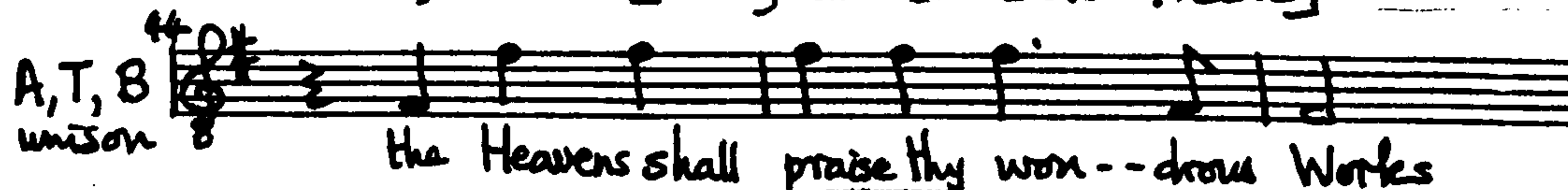
No. 2: My song shall be alway

The movement begins with a treble solo, a setting of verse 1 of Psalm 89. This runs appropriately into verse 5 of the same psalm: the first phrase of verse 5 ('The Heav'ns shall praise thy wondrous works') is given to the lower voices (ATB), entering underneath the solo as the latter completes the text of verse 1. Handel's music for the entry of the lower voices echoes a very similar phrase in the Utrecht Te Deum, "The Heavens and all the Powers therein" (Ex. 5). In both contexts the entry is a complement to

Ex. 5 'Utrecht' Te Deum, No. 2 [Entry under A.1 and A.2 solo]



Anthem 7, No. 2 [Entry under solo Treble]



the text presented by the upper voices. The parallel between the two passages is the more striking because the phrase is given two repetitions in both works. <sup>64</sup>

65 Compare, for example, Anthem bar 59 with  
Te Deum bar 56.

66 As noted in Chapter 4, the second movement of the  
Te Deum is really two movements in one, and the  
first 47 bars form a complete movement in themselves.

No. 4: God is very greatly to be fear'd

This is based on music from the third movement of the Caroline Te Deum, "When thou took'st upon thee", transposed from G minor (Alto soloist) to E minor (Tenor soloist). The source movement has already been described in detail in Chapter 5.

For the first half of the movement (Bars 1-52, verse 8 of the Psalm), Handel followed the Te Deum music quite closely, adding or subtracting the odd bar here and there and altering details of the melodic writing. In the second half (Bars 52-89, verse 9 and closing ritornello) he worked with only occasional reference to the previous music. (See Table 5) The return to the tonic key is there, but the intermediate perfect cadences of the original are avoided, the wind obbligato vanishes and the descending dotted figure, introduced at bars 22-3 of the Te Deum movement, now takes on a dominant role in the accompaniment for which there is no parallel in the earlier movement. References to melodic material from the second half of the Te Deum movement are infrequent, and probably casual rather than intentional.<sup>65</sup> Nevertheless, the lineage of the two movements is clear when taken as a whole: the binary structure and main rhythmic and melodic motifs are readily recognisable. Handel chose the oboe as the obbligato instrument in place of the transverse flute as in the Chapel Royal Te Deum. The anthem movement lacks the 'staccato' direction above the string parts, as well as the speed indication which is present in the Te Deum.

No. 7: Blessed is the people

The source for this movement is No. 2, bars 1-47, of the Caroline Te Deum, transposed from A minor (Alto soloist) to E minor (Treble soloist).<sup>66</sup> Handel's adaptation is strikingly parallel to that just described in connection with movement 4. In both move-



Chapter 6 Table 5Anthem 7: Adaptation of No. 4,'God is very greatly to be fear'd',from 'Caroline' Te Deum No. 3Anthem 7

(Bar Nos.)

- 1-11      Opening ritornello, modulating to dominant.  
Derived from Te Deum, bars 1-10,  
with one bar added (bar 8).
- 11-50      Accompanied vocal solo, ending in relative major  
of dominant.      Based on Te Deum bars 10-49 with  
a few minor alterations:  
           (1) Bars 20-23 replace 19-21 of Te Deum,  
           (2) Bars 24-25 replace 22-25 of Te Deum,  
           (3) Bars 43-50 re-composed from 43-49 of Te Deum,  
                   shortening solo section and lengthening  
                   instrumental ritornello.
- 50-52      New imperfect cadence to introduce second  
verse of psalm text.
- 52-78      Re-written with only occasional reference to Te Deum.  
Final cadences in related keys avoided (compare Te  
Deum 62-3, 66-7). Return through relative major (bar  
62) to tonic via chromatic rising bass to chord V  
(Bar 66). Final tonic section thereafter musically  
equivalent to choral conclusion to Te Deum movement.
- 78-89      Closing ritornello, a version of the opening bars  
re-composed to remain in the tonic. Only the last  
three bars bear some resemblance to the closing  
ritornello of the Te Deum movement.

ments the choral conclusion is replaced by a solo section in the tonic. In both movements also, Handel drew heavily on the Te Deum source for the first half, but only in a general way thereafter. The revisions to the roulades and the harmonic movement in the first half (Bars 1-24), result in the loss or addition of the odd bar here and there. Thereafter, although the music is recomposed, the original harmonic plan remains. (See Table 6). The landmarks of the instrumental ritornellos, which were prominent features in the Te Deum, are clearer still in the Anthem. Handel took the opportunity to add some new obbligato accompaniments for the solo oboe, probably taking advantage of the chamber-group atmosphere of the Cannons pieces. The alteration to the speed (Allegro in the Te Deum, Andante in the Anthem) may have been inspired by the character of the new text. Handel's alterations to the melodic writing (violins bars 3 and 5, bass part bar 4 and elsewhere) seem to indicate a general desire to smooth the lines out.

No. 8: Thou art the glory of their strength

This, the closing chorus of the anthem, is a revised adaptation of the closing chorus of the Caroline Te Deum (No. 6), transposed from D major to G major and with a speed indication (Allegro) added. A comparative table for this movement is unnecessary, but the following revisions may be noted:

(1) An extra half bar is added at bars 10 and 17 of the Anthem: both of these expand short episodic links which lead to the re-entry of the subject.

(2) The final bars demanded slightly different treatment, but Handel preserved the principle of a perfect cadence followed by a plagal cadence. If we hear an anticipation of Handel's most famous Halleluja chorus at the end of this An-

Chapter 6 Table 6Anthem 7: Adaptation of No. 7,'Blessed is the people'from 'Caroline' Te Deum No. 2Anthem 7

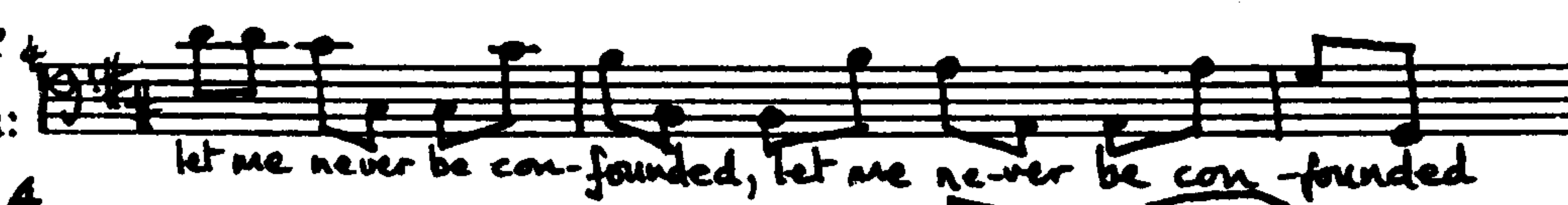
(Bar Nos.)

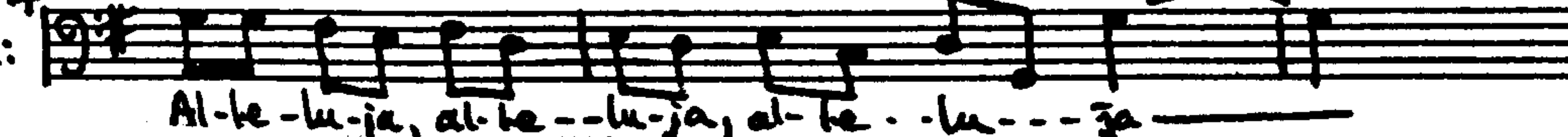
- 1-9 Ritornello, Tonic. From Te Deum, bars 1-9.
- 9-22 Solo, ending with cadence in relative major.  
Based on Te Deum.  
Bars 12-15 re-written and shortened by  $\frac{1}{2}$  bar.
- 22-24 Ritornello, relative major;  
from Te Deum, bars 22-25.
- 24-49 Remainder of movement freshly composed, but  
following the plan of the Te Deum movement  
as follows:
- 24-32 Solo, cadencing in Dominant minor  
(Te Deum bars 25-31).
- 32-34 Ritornello, Dominant minor  
(Te Deum bars 31-33).
- 34-40 Solo, modulating through subdominant minor  
(Ritornello bar 37) to cadence in relative major.  
(Te Deum bars 34-37)
- 40-45 Solo section, finishing in tonic.  
(Compare Te Deum chorus entry beginning  
in tonic, bar 38).
- 45-49 Closing tonic ritornello.  
(No parallel in Te Deum).

them, it is worth bearing in mind that the idea came from the Te Deum in the first place.

As in the previous movement, Handel's revisions to the melodic writing are generally in the direction of smoothness. The octave leaps in the vocal lines of the Te Deum are replaced by something more conjunct. (See Ex. 6). The replacement is also rather more

Ex. 6

Te Deum: 

Anthem: 

conventional: some of the original liveliness from the Te Deum has been lost.





Let God arise (Anthem 11A)

The first vocal movement (No. 2) includes two fragmentary references, of no great significance, to music from the Queen Anne Ode:

Bars 26-7: Vocal parts: "be scatter'd" - compare Ode No. 2 bars 78-9, text: "a lasting (peace)".

Bars 107-110: Compare the layout of the final chords with the final bars of Ode, No. 8.

More significant is the derivation of the opening of the Anthem's last movement (No. 8) from the last movement of the Utrecht Te Deum (No. 9). Both movements use the 'Non nobis' theme as a cantus firmus against a running bass part and as a foil against shorter choral phrases ('let me never/never be confounded' in the Te Deum, "Alleluja" in the Anthem). Handel cleverly extracted the bass of his cantus firmus theme from material present in the Te Deum accompaniment. (Ex. 7)

**Ex. 7** 'Utrecht' Te Deum, No. 9

**Anthem 11A, No. 8**

The opening of No. 6 (Praised be the Lord), bears a striking resemblance to the opening of Croft's anthem Blessed be the Lord,<sup>67</sup> composed for the Thanksgiving service in December 1705.

68 For example, in the modulation to the dominant and its relative major in bars 13-16: compare Utrecht bars 17-19. The second halves of both movements also have chromatic descending figures in the bass.

Have mercy upon me (Anthem 3)

In this anthem Handel drew on music from the Utrecht Te Deum: it is noteworthy that the Cannons arrangement of the Utrecht Jubilate is probably paired with this anthem. The first movements include no borrowings: he seems to have turned to the Utrecht service for inspiration as he progressed towards the later movements.

No. 5: Against Thee only have I sinned

Handel's first stimulus here came from No. 8 of the Utrecht Te Deum ('Vouchsafe, O Lord'), from which the instrumental introduction to this movement is arranged, with only minor modifications. He improved the timing of the vocal entry by bringing it in a bar earlier, before the final cadence of the introduction. Although the structure of the rest of the movement generally follows that of the Utrecht movement,<sup>68</sup> this is a red herring. From bar 5 Handel re-arranged the discarded movement from the end of Anthem 4, 'For he cometh to judge the earth', cunningly working string motifs derived from the Utrecht introduction into the context of the solo, wind obbligato and bass parts of the previous anthem movement.

No. 6: Thou shalt make me hear of joy and gladness

The first part of this movement is a straightforward transcription of 'Thou art the King of glory' from the Utrecht Te Deum (No. 3, bars 106-137), in the same key but with note values halved. The source was an imitative movement with five voice parts, but the texture of the imitative sections makes use of only three genuinely independent parts, so it loses nothing at all in transcription. The transferred music is followed by another, apparently original, imitative section beginning at bar 16; there is a short reprise of



69 The new notation at bar 12 may suggest retrospectively that the semi-quaver figure had been performed with dotted rhythms throughout in the Te Deum.

material from both sections in the closing part of the movement (bars 43-55).

No. 7: Make me a clean heart, O God

This movement is an extension of the opening section of No. 4 ('When Thou took'st upon Thee') from the Utrecht Te Deum. The scoring of the original (Oboe obbligato, unison violins, solo voice, basso continuo) exactly suited the Chandos Anthem without re-arrangement. Allowing for adaptations to fit the new words, the addition of some dotted rhythms<sup>69</sup> and some minor alterations to the solo line, the music of the first 14 bars is a literal transcription, transposed from D minor (alto soloist) to C minor (treble soloist). The original music was the first part of a binary structure in the Te Deum, ending in the relative major and introducing a succession of chorus movements. For the anthem Handel composed a new second half to complete the movement.

There is an interesting coincidence between the bass part of the first two bars of this movement and the bass of the first two bars of the opening sinfonia to the anthem.

70 It has already been noted in Chapter 4 that the Utrecht Jubilate seems to be in a rather later style than its companion Te Deum. If he was indeed satisfied with the Utrecht Jubilate, this could explain why Handel did not compose a new setting of the canticle to accompany the A major or Dettingen Te Deums. Presumably he felt that, if a Jubilate was required, the Utrecht would serve.

71 The six-beat silence of the Utrecht version is restored, in principle, by Handel's pause over the four-beat rest in the Chandos Anthem. The change in notation seems to have been motivated by a desire to move the following choral entry back onto the first beat of the bar.

O be joyful in the Lord (Anthem 1)

If the chronology of the Chandos Anthems suggested at the beginning of this chapter is correct, it seems that Handel moved from re-structuring earlier Chapel Royal anthems (Anthems 6 and 4) to re-arranging Chapel Royal music to new texts (Anthems 7, 11 and 3). The present anthem reverses the trend, for it is a transcription of the Utrecht Jubilate with no changes at all in musical content until the final bars of the last movement. Reasons can be adduced for the general preservation of this particular work intact. Psalm 100 has only four verses, and so re-selection or re-structuring of the text on the lines of Anthem 4 was impracticable. If it was performed at St. Lawrence's Church during Morning Prayer as the canticle Jubilate Deo specified by the Prayer Book, this would almost guarantee the preservation of the Psalm's integrity. The scoring of the choruses needed re-arrangement, but the solo movements of the Utrecht Jubilate could easily be performed with reduced forces. Handel may have been pressed for time but, even if this was the case, the thoroughness with which he reproduced the original music in its new arrangement suggests that he was musically satisfied with the Utrecht setting.<sup>70</sup>

Handel's single revision to musical content may conveniently be considered first. He shortened the final phrases of the last movement: half a bar of redundant material was removed from bar 77, and the final 'Amen' shortened by three bars. A less grandiose ending seems appropriate to the scaling-down necessitated by the performance conditions at Cannons, yet in practice the amendments make only a tiny difference to the overall effect: the rhetorical silent bars remain, though slightly differently notated.<sup>71</sup> The re-composition of the Amen replaced the over-worked descending phrases of the original with something more varied and shapely, mixing ascending and descen-



- 72 Handel seems to have had a recurring uneasiness about the way he ended movements. As may be seen from the previous descriptions, he re-composed the closing bars of nearly every chorus movement which he transferred from previous Chapel Royal works into Anthems 6A and 4.
- 73 This use of the oboe for trumpet parts may have been repeated by Handel for his revival of the Caroline Te Deum in the 1720's. See Chapter 7, and Supplement, Conditions of Performance.
- 74 The Sinfonia was published separately by Arnold, but Handel's autograph is headed '4100', which conclusively links the instrumental movements with the anthem. The Allegro should end with an imperfect cadence, instead of the ending printed by Chrysander.

ding shapes.<sup>72</sup>

Some general principles behind Handel's re-scoring can be identified. In Nos. 2, 3, 7 and 8 the oboe takes over trumpet parts from the Utrecht Jubilate. This function is particularly important in the first movement, with its trumpet/alto duet in the original. This transference of roles is accomplished with complete success.<sup>73</sup> There is no transposition: Handel chose to keep the music in the 'trumpet' key of D major for the Cannons version. Superficially at least, he lacked the alto voices for which much of the solo work in the Utrecht version was composed. He found two solutions to the problem of adapting their music: either he adapted the alto lines to bring them within the range of his solo tenor, or he used a treble and re-wrote sections which included low notes.

#### No. 1: Sinfonia<sup>74</sup>

Both movements are based on thematic material from Handel's earlier Te Deums. The Adagio takes the introduction to the Caroline Te Deum as its starting point, with note values halved and a new continuation when the original music runs out after 3½ bars. The Allegro is worked up from the introduction to the first chorus of the Utrecht Te Deum: bars 5-16 of the Te Deum are the basis for the first 11 bars of the sinfonia movement, after which Handel had once again to compose a suitable continuation. He did this so skillfully that the final product is one of his most closely-argued instrumental movements.

#### No. 2: O be joyful in the Lord

In this movement Handel gave the 'alto' solo to his tenor, with consequent alterations to the melodic shapes. Comparison of the chorus entry at bar 32 with that in the Utrecht Jubilate confirms suspicions that the tenor soloist at Cannons was probably also

75 See also the similar case with Anthem 3 No. 6, supra.

76 The second of these was in any case originally an : .  
incomplete statement of the subject. The density  
of the bass parts at bars 42-44 perhaps suggests  
that Handel had a little difficulty with the re-  
arrangement here: the texture is not, however, as  
curious as that printed by Chrysander, who left  
out the important tenor part in bars 43-47.

77 The same is true of the preceding movement as well.

the only tenor in concerted passages. The reduction in the number of voice parts entailed re-allocating some of the vocal music to the oboe in bars 36-7, where the part slips from its 'trumpet' role in order to fill out the texture. The autograph reveals that Handel thought of keeping his original soprano entry at bar 41, but then decided to leave this little imitation to the orchestra.

### No. 3: Serve the Lord with gladness

Handel's original chorus might almost have been written with foreknowledge of transcription for Cannons.<sup>75</sup> Although there are five voice parts in the Utrecht version, they rarely include more than three simultaneous essential contrapuntal lines. In the Chandos Anthem, only two independent entries of the subject which were formerly in vocal parts had to be transferred into the orchestra - at bar 42 (Violin 1) and bar 50 (Violin 2).<sup>76</sup> The oboe doubles the cantus firmus tune from bar 12 onwards, providing support which had not been necessary with the larger forces at St. Paul's. The role of the viola part in the original movement<sup>77</sup> was so limited in the Utrecht Jubilate that the omission is hardly noticed. Only in one place (bar 19) does the reduction in the number of string parts make a noticeable difference to the contrapuntal texture. At this point Handel could have introduced the 'missing' line into one of the violin parts, but apparently chose not to do so.

### No. 4: Be ye sure that the Lord he is God

The instrumental parts inherited from the Utrecht music were exactly what was needed for Cannons, and only the former solo alto part presented something of a problem. Handel gave this part to a treble, keeping the c' at bar 14 but otherwise re-writing the line where it went into the lower register.

78 At Bars 68-70 and 157-8.



No. 5: O go your way into his gates

This chorus demanded more re-arrangement than the previous ones. Most of the chorus work was originally in four real parts, and the alternation of instrumental and vocal expositions at the beginning of the movement limited the opportunities for transferring parts between the forces. In general, Handel gave the former chorus alto part to the treble and transferred the old treble part to the oboe. By judicious re-arrangement all of the main entries and parts, both vocal and instrumental, are covered, even in the stretto passage following bar 109. In two brief passages interesting contrapuntal strands are lost in the pressure of the arrangement, both of them from the original alto part.<sup>78</sup> Handel clarified the chording and word underlay at bars 89-92 in a way which reveals his intentions about the Utrecht original, which is otherwise ambiguous.

No. 6: For the Lord is gracious

Here the Utrecht music required little re-arrangement. The movement from the Utrecht Jubilate had employed two Chapel Royal altos: Elford the 'second' alto with the lower range, and Hughes the higher 'first' alto. The obvious solution for Cannons was to give the former part to a tenor and the latter to a treble. The tenor part worked with hardly any alteration, and the treble needed only occasional upward transposition of the bottom d's. The solo bass part needed no adaptation. Handel made some limited re-arrangement of the upper instrumental parts, in the course of which he removed a set of consecutives in bars 27-8.

No. 7: Glory be to the Father

This movement necessarily underwent a change of character when it was cut down to Cannons proportions. The effect of the choral

entries in the original was primarily one of massiveness, with widely spaced voices in eight parts topped by descant-type trumpet parts. Handel wisely made no attempt to reproduce the spacing of the chords in the Cannons version. He did not even preserve the integrity of the top notes of the chords: yet his arrangement is the soundest and most musical imaginable for the forces at his disposal. The voices are concentrated into close triads and chords to gain the maximum concerted effect. There is no clearer demonstration of Handel's awareness of the needs dictated by different acoustic conditions.

The instrumental introduction to the movement originally included an essential viola part. The oboe was pressed into service in the Chandos version, taking over the second violin part while the second violin acquired the previous viola line.

#### No. 8: As it was in the beginning

Once again, a little ingenuity enables Handel to persuade us that the original five-part chorus with full orchestral accompaniment was really essentially a three-part chorus. He succeeds in putting all of the entries of the main subject into the voices except one - that at bar 39, where an alto lead has to be transferred to the Violin 1/Oboe parts. His reduction of five parts to three in the passage from bar 63 is particularly successful. In the earlier part of the movement he deals with the problem of transcribing two treble parts by giving the first part to the oboe: since most of the important thematic work is in the second soprano this does no harm, and the quaver counter-melodies prove very effective in their various new instrumental and vocal combinations. It is difficult to know whether the oboe doubling of the treble lead in bars 10-15 was a deliberate choice or an accident of transcription from the former first treble part.

'Chandos' Te Deum in B flat major

Of his two previous settings of the Te Deum, the Caroline version was closer in scale to the requirements of Cannons than the more monumental Utrecht setting. As already noted, most of the music from the Caroline Te Deum had already been used up in Chandos Anthem 7. It is perhaps not surprising, therefore, that his debt to previous works in the Chandos Te Deum is to be found in isolated passages rather than complete movements.

No. 2: All the Earth doth worship Him

After some new, apparently original, chorus work Handel was able to call on music from the Caroline Te Deum for the passage from bar 41, beginning 'To Thee all angels cry aloud'. The solo part, transposed for tenor, is transferred intact up to bar 48, and the ensuing chorus entry is also based on Caroline material, though its continuation (bar 57 et seq.) is new. The following solo (bar 77) is developed from the parallel passage in the Caroline Te Deum, but at considerably greater length. It is interesting that Handel for the first time followed Purcell's model by repeating "continually do cry" between the choral outbursts of "Holy". The idea of repeating "Heaven and earth are full" (bars 108-111) may owe something to the Utrecht Te Deum.

No. 3: The glorious company of the Apostles

The general scheme (triple time, oboe solos, with a change to slow quadruple metre at 'The Father of an infinite majesty') may have been derived from the Utrecht setting, but it is only in the closing stages of the movement that music from the earlier work is used. The vocal parts in bars 101-107 are based on bars 100-106 of the movement in the Utrecht Te Deum to the same text.

79 In the Utrecht Te Deum the passage is marked  
'Sol'. In the Chandos Te Deum the tenor soloists  
are named: the only place in the autograph where  
such names occur. The only Chandos Anthem autograph  
to name any singers is Anthem 8, which is 'paired'  
with the Te Deum. Evidently Handel was in the un-  
usual position of having sufficient choice of  
singers to necessitate identifying the soloists.



Nos. 4 & 5: Thou art the King of Glory/When Thou tookest upon Thee

Similarities with the previous settings are only fragmentary. The rhythm of the opening subject of No. 4 is somewhat reminiscent of the parallel passage in the Utrecht setting. The next movement is in triple time, in common with the Caroline Te Deum, but there the similarity ends. The Cannons movement is rather more bland in character and does not attempt to put a large number of verses of the text into a single movement.

Nos. 6 & 7: When Thou hadst overcome/Thou didst open the Kingdom of Heaven

These two short movements are expansions of the material from the Utrecht Te Deum, No. 4, bars 15-25. The contrast between unaccompanied soloists<sup>79</sup> and full 'chorus' is retained. In the Utrecht setting 'When Thou hadst overcome', in A minor, follows directly from a movement in F major, adding a sudden contrast of key to those of texture and accompaniment. The preceding movement in the Chandos Te Deum also ends in F major, but this time Handel smooths over the join by beginning the movement in D minor. An additional phrase is added to the Utrecht material to effect the transition from D minor to A minor. Both settings conclude in the same way, on the dominant of A minor.

In the ensuing Allegro 'Thou didst open the Kingdom of Heaven' (No. 7) Handel 'slotted in' an extra 12 bars after the second bar of the Utrecht material. He also took the opportunity to add some semiquaver figuration to the string accompaniment; the new busyness disguises the fact that the vocal rhythms of the Allegro are based on the same dactylic pattern as the preceding Adagio.



80 Compare Utrecht Te Deum, No. 4, second soprano entry bars 30-31 with the treble entry beginning at bar 88 of the Chandos setting.

81 The preceding bars have some similarities with the Utrecht setting in the use of the wind instrument obbligato and a comparable metrical treatment of the text, but there are no real 'borrowings'. The opening theme is a development of material previously used in the opening bars of Anthem 3, No. 2.

No. 8: Thou sittest at the right hand of God

The use of triple time and a coincidence in the shapes of the counter-subjects<sup>80</sup> are the only links between this movement and its more modest predecessor in the Utrecht Te Deum. The similarity of the quaver passages first heard in bars 9 and 17-19 to those found in the solo bass part of the Caroline Te Deum, No. 2, bars 57-62, is sufficiently strong to suggest that Handel associated it with the setting of the word "Glory".

No. 9: We believe that Thou shalt come

From the 'Chorus' entry at bar 11 onwards,<sup>81</sup> much of the music is adapted from the Utrecht Te Deum, transposed from G minor (alto soloists) to E minor (tenor soloists). (See Table 7).

Nos. 10 & 11: Day by day/And we worship Thy name

These are new movements. Neither of Handel's previous settings had rendered these sections of the text in triple time. There are, however, two small similarities with the Utrecht version: the opening Trumpet/voice figure for "Day by day", and the treatment of 'And we worship Thy name' as an imitative chorus.

No. 12: Vouchsafe, O Lord

It has already been noted that in Chandos Anthem 3, No. 5, Handel re-worked the instrumental introduction from No. 8 of the Utrecht Te Deum, but based the subsequent movement on a rejected aria from Chandos Anthem 4. A complementary situation obtains here: Handel re-thought the ritornello, but returned in a general way to the main body of No. 8 of the Utrecht Te Deum when he came to the same text in the Cannons version.

In the instrumental ritornello, the string motifs from the Utrecht



Chapter 6 Table 7

'Chandos' Te Deum: Adaptation of No. 9,

'We believe that Thou shalt come'

from 'Utrecht' Te Deum, No. 5

'Chandos'

(Bar Nos.)

- |           |   |
|-----------|---|
| 11-12     | Idea from <u>Utrecht</u> bar 9, but choral 'Help' moved to strong beats.  |
| 13-14½    | Based on <u>Utrecht</u> bars 10-11½.  |
| (14½-15½) | New   |
| 15½-17    | Based on <u>Utrecht</u> bars 11-13½.  |
| 18-21     | Ideas for duet and accompaniment from <u>Utrecht</u> bars 13½-17½, but voice parts re-written and new, more flowing, accompaniment figures devised. |
| 22-28     | Transcription of <u>Utrecht</u> bars 18-24.   |
| 29-32     | Bar 25 of <u>Utrecht</u> extended with introduction of a new rising figure for text 'and lift them up'.   |

82 The complete ritornello in the Utrecht setting is built from these answering figures. In the Chandos Te Deum they appear only in the first two bars, and their character is changed by a new rhythmic disposition and by the different direction of the bass part, now falling instead of rising as previously.

83 This chromatic movement of the bass seems to be specifically introduced to illuminate the petition 'Have mercy upon us'. The voice part in bar 23 of the Chandos Te Deum movement has an interesting echo of the setting of this text in the Caroline Te Deum, No. 5A, Bar 11.





Ex. 8. 'Utrecht' Te Deum, No. 8

Alto 1  
Alto 2  
B.c.

Vouchsafe, O Lord, vouchsafe, O Lord, to keep us this day

'Chandos' Te Deum, No. 12 [Transposed]

Tenor  
B.c.

Vouchsafe, O Lord, vouchsafe, O Lord, to keep us this day

day - with - out - Sin

Lord, to keep us this day - without - Sin

movement are retained, but their significance is substantially reduced.<sup>82</sup> The flowing quaver bass part, the interrupted cadences and the descending quaver melody in bar 3 are all new features with no ancestry in the comparable movements from the Utrecht Te Deum and Anthem 3.

Ex. 8 demonstrates how Handel re-composed the music of the ensuing movement, taking the first couple of phrases as an example. Both versions of these bars follow the same general harmonic framework - modulation to the relative major, return to tonic, interrupted cadence, perfect cadence - but the landmarks are spaced rather differently within the same 7-bar span, and the Cannons version shows a greater sense of harmonic and melodic direction.

A comparison of the complete movements is given in Table 8. Both movements follow the same tripartite plan:

- (1) Te Deum Verse 26: Begin Tonic, end relative major of Dominant. Solo.
- (2) Verse 27: Move to Dominant Minor. Use of descending chromatic bass part.<sup>83</sup> Solo.
- (3) Verse 28: Tonic. Chorus.

Handel's treatment of the music is far superior in the second version. It is perhaps significant that he found more to re-write in the solo section than in the choral part of the movement.

Chapter 6 Table 8

'Chandos' Te Deum No. 12, 'Vouchsafe, O Lord':  
comparison with 'Utrecht' Te Deum No. 8

'Chandos'

(Bar Nos.)

- 1-6           New instrumental introduction, ending in Tonic  
              (Compare Utrecht bars 1-5)
- 7-13          Tenor solo, ending in Tonic.  
              Compare Utrecht (Alto duet) 5-12.
- 13-20         Continuation, modulation to relative major  
              (bars 13-17, compare Utrecht bar 15) and its  
              dominant (bar 20, compare Utrecht bar 17).
- 21            New instrumental ritornello.
- 22-27         Modulation to dominant minor,  
              compare Utrecht bars 17-22.
- 27-38         Chorus. Return to tonic.

Expanded from Utrecht as follows:

	<u>Utrecht</u>	<u>Chandos</u>	
	22-24	27-30	(1 bar added)
	25-26	31-32½	(½ bar cut)
	27-29	32½-35	(½ bar added)
	30-31	36-37	
38-40	New ritornello based on bars 1-3, 6. (Compare different <u>Utrecht</u> ritornello based on bars 1, 4-5 of that setting.)		

CHAPTER SEVENHANDEL'S RE-ESTABLISHMENT AT THE CHAPEL ROYAL

	page
Developments at Court	236
Special Court Services in the Reign of King George I	240
(Table 1 p. 242-249)	
(Table 2 p. 250-253)	
Handel's Chapel Royal Appointment	258
Handel's Chapel Royal Music from the Second Period	263



1     See Plumb: Walpole, i, 282-292;  
       Hatton: George I, p. 213-216, 245-246

2     See Hatton, ibid, p. 266. For the early history  
       of the Academy, see Snapp: Royal Academy

3     See Deutsch: Handel, p. 89-91

## HANDEL'S RE-ESTABLISHMENT AT THE CHAPEL ROYAL

Developments at Court

The waves of political, social and domestic pressures on music at the English court which had swept Handel away from the Chapel Royal after 1714 swept him back again in the 1720's. Our knowledge of the forces behind these waves is limited and much can only be surmised, but the external landmarks of Handel's return to the occasional life of the Chapel are clear enough. These landmarks must be set into the wider background of court history and musical activity in London.

The reconciliation between the King and the Prince of Wales which took place at court on St. George's Day, 1720, was rather a stage-managed affair: the front-of-house gloss to the backstage drama already played out by the Whig politicians.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the reconciliation brought to an end an uncomfortable chapter in the life of the court. The Prince of Wales was given his guards back, the Wales's were once again acceptable visitors (though not residents) at St. James's, and the King no longer refused to see those who also patronised the Prince's court. A gradual movement towards reconciliation took place in 1719-1720, and the formation of the Royal Academy of Music, which drew its Directors from a wide political spectrum,<sup>2</sup> is as symptomatic of the trend towards the reunification of the aristocracy's cultural life as the closure of the opera house in 1717 had been symptomatic of its disintegration. One of the driving forces behind the creation of the Academy seems to have been the desire of powerful courtiers to see Handel established in England with a permanent, secure and well-financed opera company.<sup>3</sup> Handel's chances of success were obviously much greater if he had a united source of patronage

4 Handel himself described the foundation of the Academy as something on which all his fortunes depended: see the letter of 20-2-1718/9, Deutsch: Handel, p. 84-5

5 I have not been able to find any evidence that either the King or the Prince of Wales attended any of these performances. On the libretto to Numitore, Porta is described as 'Virtuoso de S.E. di Signor Duca de Wharton'. Wharton was probably a supporter of the Prince of Wales: see PB Mar. 31-Apr. 2 1720.

6 See Deutsch: Handel, p. 103-4

behind him.<sup>4</sup>

The precise significance of the timing of the reconciliation in the royal family on Handel's music has not hitherto been noticed. Handel composed Radamisto in preparation for the Academy's first season, and Handel himself was regarded as the king-pin of the company's success. Yet the Academy opened not with Handel's specially-composed opera, but with Porta's Numitore. The calendar of events was then as follows:

2 April: First Royal Academy of Music performance - Numitore.

Repeat performances April 5, 9, 19, 23.<sup>5</sup>

23 April: Prince of Wales goes to St. James's Palace, and is formally reconciled to the King (meeting in the King's Closet).

24 April (Sunday): King and Prince of Wales attend Chapel Royal together for the first time since 1717. At the Court following the Chapel service, Walpole and Townshend are received by the King and accepted into the government.

27 April: King and Prince of Wales go to the first performance of Radamisto. Word-book of the opera contains Handel's dedicatory preface to the King.<sup>6</sup>

1 May: King and Prince of Wales to Chapel Royal.

8 May: King, Prince and Princess of Wales to Chapel Royal.

11 May: King, Prince and Princess of Wales to Radamisto.

15 May: King, Prince and Princess of Wales to Chapel Royal.

Anthem by Clayton performed.

22 May: King, Prince and Princess of Wales to Chapel Royal.

28 May: King's Birthday: King, Prince and Princess of Wales attend Drawing Room at court and hear Ode (composed by Eccles, soloists include Francis Hughes and Bernard Gates). King, Prince and Princess of Wales attend Chapel Royal together

7 The postponement of the first performance  
(see Deutsch, Handel, p. 103), if such a thing  
happened, may have been made to suit the Royal  
Family. In view of the correct date on the lib-  
retto, however, it seems more likely that the  
original announcement printed an erroneous date.

8. Deutsch, ibid, p. 104-5

9 See infra Table 1, Service 9, and Table 2  
Note 12 .

10 The pension payments appear consistently in the  
Treasury Papers at the Public Record Office as  
part of the general pension lists.



each Sunday until King leaves for Hanover (June 14). King and Prince of Wales also attend performances by French comedians at Opera House, but not on the same nights. Princess of Wales and Princess Anne attend Radamisto together on 26 May. It is obvious that the Opera calendar was engineered so that Radamisto was the first performance that King and Prince attended together after their reconciliation.<sup>7</sup> The decision about the repertoire must have been taken before the beginning of April. It is significant that the performance of April 27 is the first Academy opera performance to which the newspapers pay any particular attention: evidence is not lacking that it was an affair of considerable social consequence, as we might expect.<sup>8</sup> Handel must have had good contacts at court who could give him advance information of the reconciliation (which took some politicians by surprise). In fact, it is difficult to believe that Handel did not have a personal interest in the affairs of the Royal Family. The division of 1717 drove him away from the court firing lines: Radamisto is his celebration of the Hanoverian armistice, and the only opera dedication which the composer printed under his own name must be read with this in mind. Nevertheless, Handel's return closer to the affairs of the court did not extend immediately to the Chapel Royal. The anthem which went with the celebrations was composed by Clayton.<sup>9</sup>

This is an appropriate moment to pause in order to consider what is known of the Court's patronage of Handel at this period, apart from the indirect assistance through the encouragement of the Royal Academy. The £200 pension granted by Queen Anne and continued by George I was paid to Handel until his death.<sup>10</sup> This is what we would expect, since such pensions were normally granted for life. No specific duties seem to have been attached to

- 11 Anne, Amelia and Carolina, born in 1709, 1711 and 1713 respectively. Prince Frederick (born 1707) remained in Hanover in 1714. Children born to the Prince and Princess of Wales in England were George William (born 1717, died the following February), William (born 1721, later Duke of Cumberland), Mary (born 1723) and Louisa (born 1724): these lived with their parents at Leicester House.
- 12 Princess Anne apparently soon took on the role of hostess for the King's Drawing Rooms, after the departure of her mother.
- 13 The Princess of Wales was soon granted occasional access to her daughters. This was not granted to her husband, or not taken up by him, for a long time, possibly as long as 18 months. See Boyer: Political State, xvii, p. 511.
- 14 The Prince of Wales's family remained divided even after the 1720 reconciliation, and this may have caused some rancour which lasted even after George I's death. There is some doubt as to whether the Countess of Portland was given the expected pension when her services as Governess were no longer required in 1727. WEP Sept. 26-28 1727 expected the Countess to receive a pension, but most London newspapers carried emphatic denials at the end of October that she was to be given one.
- 15 P.R.O. T52/30 et seq. Quarterly payments, usually of £5,000, to Joseph Eyles for the Princess's Establishment under the Countess of Portland.
- 16 See SjEP May 26-28 1719 and Boyer: Political State xvii, p. 511-2. Both Handel and the King were out of the country at the time.

Handel's pension and, if George I hardly received anything for his money during 1717-1720, at least Handel had the good sense to keep out of the court intrigues. Paradoxically, William Croft, who had actively supported the musical life of the King's court during the difficult period, received less royal favour after 1720.

The question of whether Handel kept up some contact with the Royal Family by teaching the King's grandchildren must be considered. When the Prince and Princess of Wales were ejected from St. James's Palace at the end of 1717, their three daughters were retained by the King at the Palace<sup>11</sup> as a lever by which he could continue to exert a disciplining influence on his son. A separate establishment for these princesses was set up by the King with the Dowager Duchess of Portland as Governess.<sup>12</sup> Inevitably this forcible separation of children from their parents<sup>13</sup> quickly became a party issue between the rival supporters of the King and the Prince.<sup>14</sup> In view of this, it hardly seems credible that Handel would have allowed himself to be drawn into a compromising position by accepting a post as music master to the Princesses. It is not possible to be completely definite on the matter, since the payments to the Princesses' establishment were made in lump sums to the Governess and therefore do not normally appear in detail in the central Treasury papers,<sup>15</sup> but it is unlikely that Handel was employed in this capacity before 1720. The Princesses' Household was listed at its official opening on the King's Birthday in May 1719:<sup>16</sup> the list includes a Dancing-Master, a Drawing-Master and a Writing-Master, but no Music Master, nor is Handel mentioned by name. The first documentary reference to Handel holding the position of Music-Master to the Princesses comes from August 1724, when Handel took the two oldest princesses to hear him perform on

- 17 See Deutsch: Handel, p. 173
- 18 Reproduced in Schazmann: The Bentincks. It is not at all certain that the musician at the keyboard is Handel, nor is it easy to establish the ages of the children on the picture.
- 19 P.R.O. T1/260(10), referred to indirectly in Deutsch: Handel, p. 213. The unique survival of this itemised list of the Princesses' establishment can probably be attributed to the fact that it was a retrospective claim for payment of arrears up to the end of the Countess of Portland's period of management. The Princesses were given a new establishment in the reign of George II. The lists of their Household were printed in Chamberlayne's Magnae Britanniae Notitia, 29th. (1728) Edition and subsequent issues, and the lists include 'Musick Master Mr. George Frederic Handel £200'. No lists of the Princesses' household were published in the previous reign.
- 20 See Appendix 12
- 21 See Chapter 2, supra



the organ at St. Paul's.<sup>17</sup> A picture of the Princesses' apartments which purports to include a portrait of Handel playing the harpsichord must depict a scene from the 1720's.<sup>18</sup> There is no doubt that Handel was being paid an annual salary of £200 (in addition to, and separate from, his regular pensions) as Music Master to the Princesses by the end of the reign.<sup>19</sup> It seems most probable that Handel had gained this post about 1724, soon after he had received the Chapel Royal appointment which is shortly to be described.

#### Special Court Services in the Reign of King George I.

To explain the background to Handel's return to the life of the Chapel, it is necessary to pick up again the story of the special occasional services which provided opportunities for music which was on a rather grander scale than usual. As noted in the preceding chapter, the old style of thanksgiving services died out, and in any case there were relatively few official Thanksgiving Days to celebrate during the reigns of the first two Georges.<sup>20</sup> Other occasions, however, provided the excuse for services which included instrumentally-accompanied anthems and canticle settings. The most important recurring court occasion of this type was the celebration of the King's safe return from abroad. There was a precedent for this, in the services of Thanksgiving for the King's "Safe return to his People" from the 1690's,<sup>21</sup> but there was also a fundamental difference. William III was usually returning from the year's military campaign, and the Thanksgiving for his return was usually coupled with sentiments of thanksgiving for the successes (such as they might be made out) of the year and the preservation of the King's person from the dangers of war. George's visits to Hanover were of a



- 22 Although the King needed to maintain active contact with his Electorate, he also took opportunities these visits afforded to advance his diplomatic plans. As Matton shows, George was deeply committed to his own foreign policy ambitions. These might be variously interpreted as forwarding Hanoverian or English interests, though George's view was naturally moulded by his pre-1714 experience. Contacts with relations in the Prussian Court during the Hanover visits had both personal and diplomatic significance. In the next reign the diplomatic aspect was reduced, except in the matter of negotiating royal marriage, but George II took part, memorably (if not notoriously), in a military campaign during the 1743 visit.
- 23 Apart from the fact that the King's presence promoted stability during an age of Jacobite plots, the return of the monarch had important constitutional significance, in that power was immediately returned from the Guardian of the Realm and the Commissioners who had acted on the King's behalf during his absence.
- 24 Handel's name does not appear at all in the records of the King's journeys. Such evidence as there is (admittedly thin) for Handel's 1716 visit is summarised in Schoelcher: Handel, p.44-45. There are 2 sources: Coxe: Anecdotes and Mattheson's Ehren-pforte. The latter seems rather confused over details, bringing its value as evidence into question. The former should be more reliable: if J.C. Smith junior was a source for the Anecdotes, we should expect him to know when his family came to England. Nevertheless, as pointed out in Chapter 5, Note 34, there is some doubt as to whether Smith came to London before 1719. The best evidence for Handel's visit seems to lie in his withdrawal of his South Sea dividend (see Deutsch: Handel, p.71), which might imply a forthcoming excursion. It is perhaps significant that Mainwaring: Memoirs makes no mention of Handel leaving the country until 1719.
- 25 I have searched the Hanover archives in vain for any reference to Handel during the King's visit. The

/only

different order: he was not involved in military campaigns on the continent, and not every Englishman approved of the attention which the King had necessarily to give to his German responsibilities.<sup>22</sup> The Hanover visits were therefore rather more of a private matter, a fact which was implicitly recognised with the repeal of the Act forbidding the King to leave the country without the consent of Parliament. Although the safe return of the King was an important public matter,<sup>23</sup> Thanksgiving liturgies were not printed and circulated nationally as they had been for William III's returns. There was normally a lot of activity at court in the days after the King's arrival, including a well-attended gathering of the court and a public dinner on the Sunday after his return. It was only natural that special exertions were expected of the Chapel at the morning services on these Sundays.

The documentary evidence for all of the special services during George I's reign in which the Chapel Royal took part is summarised in Table 1, and Table 2 gives what is known about the music performed at these services. Services 1-5 have been dealt with in previous chapters. The combined silence of the official records and the newspapers after the King's first return from Hanover ( Service 6, 20.1.1716/7) is strong circumstantial evidence that no special music was performed. It is possible that Handel himself went abroad while the King was in Hanover, though this is not supported by any evidence from the newspapers, or the surviving official records of the English and Hanoverian courts.<sup>24</sup> He may have travelled in one or both directions with the court party, but his music was not performed in Hanover during the King's visit.<sup>25</sup> It seems much more likely that if he left England at all, Handel used the opportunity to visit old

25 (continued)    only identifiable major performance  
before the King in Hanover during the visit seems  
to have been of Destouches' comedy 'Le Medisant':  
see Wallbrecht: Das Theater, p. 225.    Wallbrecht's  
section dealing with Handel (p.176-177) goes no  
further than 1714: I interpret ~~her~~ silence as con-  
firmation that there are no references to Handel  
in the Hanoverian theatrical papers after 1712.

# Chapter 7 Table 1

## Special services during the reign of George I - Documentary Sources

<u>No.</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>P.R.O. References</u>	<u>Newspaper references</u>	<u>Commentary</u>
1.	26.9.1714	-	See Chapter 5 (Handel Te Deum)	First Sunday after King's arrival.
2.	17.10.1714	-	See Chapter 5 (Handel Te Deum)	First Sunday after arrival of Princess Caroline
3.	20.10.1714	£18 paid to Croft for 'pricking and fair writing of Musick for Voices and Instruments' LC5/156, p.134 See also AO/319 & LC3/53, p.139	'The Te Deums and other Hymns and Anthems were sung by the Gentlemen of his Majesty's Chappel and the Choire Of Westminster' DC, October 21	Coronation Westminster Abbey
4.	20.1.1714 /5	£24 paid to Croft for 'pricking and fair writing ..' LC5/156, p.134 See also AO/319 ('for the Te Deum Jubilate and Anthems at St. Paul's) & LC3/53, p.139	Croft Te Deum and Jubilate rehearsed 13 Jan. (St. James's Palace) and 15 Jan. (about noon, ?St. Paul's) <u>BWM</u> Jan. 12-15, <u>Dawks</u> Jan.15 Report of service in <u>Dawks</u> , Jan 20 & 22, <u>PB</u> and <u>EP</u> Jan 18-20 & 20-22. Also Boyer: <u>Political State</u> , ix, p.59	Thanksgiving St. Paul's Cathedral. See Chapter 6
5.	7.6.1716	-	'His Majesty did not go this Day .. to St. Paul's Cathedral' <u>EP</u> June 5-7 'This being the Thanksgiving Day for Suppressing the late unnatural Rebellion, His Majesty, the Prince and the Princess were at St. James's Chapel' <u>Dawks</u> June 7. No reports of music.	Thanksgiving King had been expected to go to St. Paul's. See Chapter 6



6.	20.1.1716 /7	-	<p>'On Sunday His Majesty went to the Royal Chappel and both before and after, received the Compliments of a vast Number of Persons of Quality Ec ... There was the greatest Appearance at Court that has been known'.  <u>SJEP</u> (and others) Jan. 19-22            No reports of music.</p>	<p>King arrived at St. James's from Hanover on 19 Jan.</p>
7.	15.11.1719	£11 paid for extra performers: Mr. Abingdon and Mr. Goodman (Trumpets) Mr. David (Double Base)	<p>'There have been Rehearsals made of Dr. Croft's Te Deum and Anthem at the Chapel Royal at St. James's, the last being made yesterday: It is to be performed before the King the first Sunday after his Majesty's Arrival'.  <u>WJSP</u>, Nov. 14            '... was sung before the King, Dr. Croft's Te Deum, also a new Anthem with Instruments compos'd by him; which was admirably well perform'd by his Majesty's Choir and Instrumental Musick'.  <u>WM</u> Nov. 14-21, <u>OWJ</u> 21 Nov.            ' (after the Sermon) Dr. Croft's Te Deum and Anthem were sung, plaid to by the Organs, but the Jubilate being too long, and tedious was omitted'.  <u>WJSP</u> Nov. 21            See also <u>WJBG</u> Nov. 21</p>	<p>King arrived at St. James's from Hanover on 14 November. Newspapers say that there was a 'numerous Appearance of Nobility and Persons of Distinction' on 15 November to compliment the King on his arrival.</p>



Table 1, p.3.

8.	1.1.1719 /20	-	<p>'In the Forenoon the King went to the Royal Chapel ... Prayers and Anthem' SJP Jan. 1-4</p> <p>'Dr. Croft's famous <u>Te Deum</u> was sung at the King's Chapel at St. James's ... There was no Sermon, but a great deal of Music'. WJSP Jan. 9</p> <p>See also: <u>WJBG</u> Jan 9, and <u>LJ</u> Jan 2-9</p>	<p>New Year's Day (Friday). In the afternoon Chapel Royal soloists and the King's Musicians joined, as usual, in the Ode.</p>
9.	15.5.1720	-	<p>(Thursday, May 12) .. 'was a Rehearsal of a New anthem composed by Mr. Clayton, in the Chapel Royal at St. James's, with other Musick, which is to be performed on Sunday next before his Majesty'.</p> <p><u>WJSP</u> May 14</p> <p>'Tomorrow, .. a new Anthem, compos'd by Mr. Clayton, will be perform'd before his Majesty at the Chappel Royal at St. James's' <u>WEP</u> May 12-14</p>	<p>Soon after the reconciliation between King and Prince of Wales.</p>
10.	13.11.1720	£15 paid for extra performers: Joseph Abingdon & John Goodman (Trumpets), William Ketch (Hautebois), and Pysenwolt David (Double Bass). 2 practices of the Te Deum and performance before his Majesty at St. James's. LC5/157, p. 396	<p>Croft Te Deum and New Anthem - References given in full at Note (3).</p>	<p>King arrived at St. James's from Hanover on 11 November.</p>

Table 1, p.4

11. 9.7.1721	£14 paid for extra performers: Joseph Abingdon and John Goodman (Trumpets), Wm. Keitch (Hautebois), and Pessenwolt David (Double Base). 2 Practices of the Te Deum and performance before his Majesty at St. James's. LC5/158, p.14	Greene Te Deum and Anthem - References given in full at Note (3).	Sermon preached by John Hoadley. Although the connection with the Spanish Peace was denied, the Spanish Ambassador also heard a Te Deum in his private Chapel on the same day. ( <u>SJEP</u> July 13-15)
12. 7.10.1722	£7.11.6 paid for extra performers: William Keitch(Hautbcd), Pessenwolt David and Henry Rosha (Double Base). 1 practice of the Te Deum and performance before his Majesty at St. James's. LC5/158, p.140	'Last Sunday the Reverend Dr. Leng preach'd before the King, and his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, at the Royal Chappel at St. James's, where an Anthem was sung to Musick'. <u>PM</u> Oct. 6-9. See also <u>SJEP</u> Oct. 6-9 and <u>WJBG</u> Oct.13	King and court returned to reside at St. James's following the summer season at Kensington on 5 October.

Table 1, p.5

13. 5.1.1723 /4	£25.4.0 paid for extra performers: John Kite (Hautboi), George Angels and David Williwald (Double Bases), Richard Vincent (Bason) and Chris- topher Smith (Tenor - i.e. Viola) 3 Practices of the Te Deum and perform- ance before his Majesty at St. James's £3.18.6 paid to Handel for 'Writing the An- them which was perform'd at St. James's before his Majesty' LC5/158, p.247-248.	'Yesterday being the First Sunday after his Majesty's safe Arrival at St. James's, Te Deum and a fine New Anthem composed by the famous M. Handel, were performed both vocally and instrumentally at the Royal Chapel there by the greatest Masters, before his Majesty and their Royal High- nesses'. DP Jan. 6 See also PM and EP Jan. 4-7, WJBG and LJ Jan. 11, UJ Jan. 8, and Boyer: <u>Political State</u> xxvii, p. 68.	King arrived at St. James's from Hanover on December 30.
--------------------	---	--	---

Table 1, p. 6

14. ?16.1.1725 /6	£18.18.0 paid for extra performers: Christian Kitsh (Hautboi), Godfried Karpa (Bason), David Beswillwald and George Angel (Double Basses) and Christopher Smith (Tenor)	2 Practices of the Te Deum and performance before his Majesty at St. James's. £8.13.0 paid to Mr. Smith for scores and parts in the Te Deum performed before his Majesty at St. James's. IC5/158, p.426, 435	'On Sunday last there was a great Appearance in the Royal Chapple at St. James's' EP Jan. 15-18 'On Sunday last the Rev. Mr. Burnet .. .. prached before his Majesty and their Royal Highnesses at St. James's Chappel' EP Jan. 15-18 Similar reports appear in other newspapers, none of them referring to any music.	King arrived at St. James's from Hanover, after a bad Channel crossing, at 10 p.m. on Sunday, 9 January.
----------------------	---	--	--	--

Notes to Table 1.

- (1) All services except (3) and (4) took place at the Chapel Royal, St. James's Palace.
- (2) All services except (3), (4) and (5) took place on Sundays.
- (3) The full newspaper references to Services (10) and (11) are too extensive for inclusion in the table, but they contain much useful information on the arrangements for the performances. They are as follows (overleaf):



Table 1, p.7 (Notes)

Service 10 - 1720.

Yesterday, and this Day, Te Deum, together with the New Anthem compos'd by Dr. Cross, was rehearsed at the Chapel Royal at St. James's, on Account of the King's safe Arrival and Deliverance from his Ennemies, and will be performed on Sunday next before his Majesty. (WEP Nov. 10-12)

This week two Rehearsals were mad of Dr. Croft's Te Deum in the Chapel-Royal at St. James's, which is to be performed before his Majesty next Sunday, in case he arrives this Week; if not, it will be deferred till the Sunday following. (WJSP, November 12)

Yesterday ... His Majesty and their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess, went to the Royal Chapel ... where Te Deum, composed by Dr. Crofts was perform'd with a Melodious Consort of Musick. The Anthem, peculiarly adapted to the Day, was also sung in Concert with the same Musick. (SJP November 11-14).

Te Deum composed by Dr. Crofts, and an Anthem adapted to the Occasion, were both performed with a Consort of Musick. (WEP) Nov. 10-14)

The celebrated Te Deum, composed by the ingenious Dr. Crofts ... (WJSP, November 19).

See also: PM Nov. 10-14, AOWJ WJBQ and LJ Nov. 19 and Boyer: Political State xx, p. 499.

Service 11 - 1721

Tomorrow the new Te Deum (which was lately rehears'd at Sion College) composed by the famous Mr. Green Organist of St. Paul's, will be perform'd at the Chapel-Royal at St. James's. (WJSP July 8)

To Morrow there is to be an excellent new Anthem performed in the Royal Chapel at St. James's by some of the best Masters, with above 30 instruments ... (PM July 6-8)



Table 1, p.8 (Notes)

To Morrow, on Occasion of the Peace with Spain, Te Deum will be perform'd at the Royal Chappel at St. James's: and a fine Anthem, composed by Mr. Green, will be sung by Mr. Whaley, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Chelsam and Mr. Bell. (DP July 8, also WEP and SJEP July 6-8).

Yesterday his Majesty, accompany'd by their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, went to the Royal Chapel of St. James's, where Te Deum with a fine Consort of Instrumental Musick was perform'd, and a new Anthem composed by the ingenious Mr. Green, Organist of St. Paul's, was sung by some of the best Voices; but the Solemnity was not on any public Account, as was reported. (DP July 10).

Last Sunday the King and the Prince and Princess of Wales came sooner than usual to the Royal Chappel at St. James's, where the singing of the Te Deum, and the Performance of the Instrumental Musick took up a considerable Time. (PM July 8-11)

On Sunday last Mr. Green's Te Deum was vocally and instrumentally performed ... by the following persons: Mr. Hughes, Mr. Wheeley, and Mr. Chelsam, but not on Account of the Peace with Spain, as has been publish'd. Mr. Bell did not perform any part. (WJSP, July 15)

See also: SJP July 7-10, EP and SJEP July 8-11, and many weekly papers dated July 15.

250

Chapter 7 Table 2

Music performed at Services 1-11 of Table 1

<u>Date</u>	<u>Music and scoring of orchestral accompaniment</u>
1. 26.9.1714	Handel: Te Deum <sup>1</sup> ?Handel: Anthem
2. 17.10.1714	Handel: <u>Caroline</u> Te Deum (2 Trumpets, Strings) <sup>2</sup> Handel: ?O sing unto the Lord (Anthem 4A) (2 Trumpets, Oboe, Strings) <sup>2</sup>
3. 20.10.1714	Croft: The Lord is a Sun and a Shield (2 Trumpets, Strings) <sup>3</sup>
4. 20.1.1714/5	Croft: Te Deum and Jubilate in D (2 Trumpets, Oboe, Strings) <sup>4</sup> Croft: O give thanks unto the Lord, and call (Strings) <sup>5</sup>
5. 7.6.1716	?Croft: O give thanks unto the Lord, and call (Strings) <sup>6,7</sup>
6. 20.1.1716/7	No music known <sup>7,8</sup>
7. 15.11.1719	Croft: Te Deum in D (2 Trumpets, Strings, ?Oboe) <sup>9</sup> Croft: O give thanks unto the Lord, for He (Trumpet, Strings) <sup>10</sup>
8. 1.1.1719/20	Croft: Te Deum <sup>11</sup>
9. 15.5.1720	Clayton: An Anthem <sup>12</sup>
10. 13.11.1720	Croft: Te Deum in D (2 Trumpets, Oboe, Strings) <sup>13</sup> Croft: Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous (Oboe, Strings) <sup>14</sup>
11. 9.7.1721	Greene: Te Deum and Jubilate <sup>15</sup> Greene: New Anthem <sup>15</sup>

Notes and Sources

- (1) Possibly Utrecht Te Deum - See Chapter 5.
- (2) See Chapter 5
- (3) British Library RM. 24.g.2, p.1-37. 'Perform'd att ye King's Coronation/1714'. This volume is in the hand of James Kent,

## Table 2, p.2 (Notes)

who also added the titles and ascriptions. The style of Kent's hand and the paper characteristics suggest a copying date c. 1720.

- (4) See Chapter 6. As noted there, I believe BL Add. MS 17845 to be the score prepared for that occasion. See also Chapter 2, Table 1, Note .26, supra.
- (5) BL RM. 24. g.2, p.41 - 94. Heading: 'Anthem for the Thanksgiving 1714'. At the end 'Perform'd att St. Paul's'. Kent also added, probably rather later, 'Compos'd for the Thanksgiving upon Suppressing of y<sup>e</sup> Rebellion at Preston 1715'. This conflicts with the other two annotations, referring to Service 5 which neither took place in 1714/5 nor at St. Paul's. I interpret this as evidence that the anthem, composed for the St. Paul's service in 1714/5, was repeated at St. James's Palace in 1716.
- (6) See the preceding note on RM. 24.g. 2. Chapel Royal Word-Books (Collection 1724, 1736, and 1749) print the text with the note: 'Composed for the Thanksgiving upon suppressing of the Rebellion at Preston, Ec. 1715'. The anthem may have been performed at some time without orchestral accompaniment, though it does not appear in the surviving Chapel Royal part-books.
- (7) Waldon's Te Deum in D major (without orchestra, parts LCM MS 2043) was composed at this period, and may have been performed at one of these services.
- (8) Collection, Durham, p.162 gives the text of Croft's Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous with the note 'Composed and Performed on King George I's First return from Hanover'. I am inclined to disregard this: there is no other evidence of any special music for this service. On stylistic grounds as well as on

## Table 2, p.3 (Notes)

- the evidence provided by the paper characteristics of the autograph, this anthem seems to be a much later work.
- (9) There is no additional oboe player recorded in the P.R.O. payments for this service. The oboe obbligato in No. 13 of the Te Deum may have been given to a violin. No Jubilate (see newspaper references): this may have set a precedent for subsequent performances.
- (10) RM. 24. g. 2, p.97-130 'A Thanksgiving Anthem'. LCM MS 666 'November 5 1719' (sic).
- (11) 'Dr. Croft's famous Te Deum' was presumably the D major setting, but there are no records of payments to instrumentalists. If so, this is a unique special Chapel Royal performance for New Year's Day. If the canticles were not orchestrally-accompanied, it is probable that Croft's setting in E flat (BL Add. MS 38668, composed March 1718/9) was performed.
- (12) Unidentifiable at present. It probably did not have orchestral accompaniment. The composer may have been Thomas Clayton, who had been one of the Royal Musicians 1692-1705/6. (See Grove, sub 'Clayton').
- (13) Probably without the Jubilate.
- (14) Autograph BL Egerton MS 2965 (Watermark Clausen Bd), no title by composer. Copy RM. 24. g. 2, p.135-189 (original pagination 1-55).
- (15) The music performed at this service can not be identified precisely. Of Green's surviving settings of the Te Deum, two seem to have originated at about this period: one is at Ob MS Mus.d.50 and BL Add MS 17854, the autograph of the other is in the Library of Congress, Washington. Both of them demand slightly larger orchestras than are allowed by the P.R.O. pay-



## Table 2, p.4 (Notes)

ments for this service, though the Washington one is nearly correct. The newspaper references for the service, and for the related Sons of the Clergy performance on 14-12-1721, leave a slight doubt as to whether Greene composed the Te Deum as well as the Anthem, but the weight of the evidence seems to suggest that Greene provided both.



26 The exact date of Handel's return is unknown, but it is doubtful if he was back in London by the end of 1719. The Royal Academy did not order him back to England until their meeting on 27 November, nearly a fortnight after the King's return.

27 See Chapter 6.

It is interesting that the 'twin' Chapel Royal composer, John Weldon, seems to have left all the major events to Croft.

haunts in Halle or Hamburg rather than to stay with the King in Hanover. There is nothing to suggest that he wrote any music to celebrate the King's return to London, nor that anyone at court thought that a musical celebration was specially called for. Though the court was populous on the day after the King's return, there was apparently no need for special display.

The situation was different when the King returned next time, in November 1719. The rivalry between the King's court and that of the Prince of Wales was still of considerable importance then, with the King's court trying to make itself as attractive and influential as possible. If anyone had thought of asking Handel for music to celebrate the King's return, the composer was not there to be asked, since he did not return from his own visit to the continent until after the King.<sup>26</sup> It is no surprise to find that Croft provided the music for the appropriate Chapel Royal service: Croft was the official Chapel Royal composer with the right talents, and he had faithfully fulfilled the musical demands of the King's court since the ejection of the Prince of Wales.<sup>27</sup> The service on 15 November 1719 set important precedents. It established the principle of celebrating the King's return with concerted music in the Chapel Royal. It set the scale for future performances, and in so doing established the practice of payment to additional performers. All subsequent performances of the same type supplemented the Chapel Royal singers and the King's Musicians with a few additional paid performers.

A year later Croft provided similar music again for the Chapel Royal Sunday service after the King's return. After that, however, Croft falls away from the big events at the Chapel as suddenly and as certainly as Handel did in 1715 - and with as little evidence to explain it. Croft was certainly not inactive in the following

28 PF Jan 12-14, 1725. This anthem, possibly in a slightly different version, had also been performed at a similar service in 1721 after the birth of Prince William: see Collection, 1724 and Burrows: Dolben, p. 150-1.

29 EP June 15-17, 1725 and SJEP June 17-19. The King was out of the country at the time, but the Prince of Wales was present. Croft was organist at Westminster Abbey.

30 Though not necessarily so. The new King and Queen attended their first Chapel Royal service at St. James's on 25 June, and Croft's anthem may have been intended as a topical offering for a subsequent Sunday morning service. This does not affect the substance of the argument: Croft may have felt the need to produce special Chapel Royal anthems as the result of discovering the Coronation music was being taken away from him.

31 It can hardly be a coincidence that the Sermon at this service was preached by John Hoadley. The Hoadley family were supporters of Greene, and John Hoadley junior (nephew of the 1721 preacher) was later the author of libretti for Greene: see The New Grove, sub 'Greene'. It was rather unusual for the Court still to be at St. James's in July; for some reason, the summer move to Kensington was made surprisingly late in 1721, on 2 August.

years: he was busy preparing Musica Sacra, an anthology of his own anthems, during 1723-4 and appears to have continued his routine work in the Chapel. His verse anthem, Blessed are all they that fear the Lord, was performed in January 1725 at the first Chapel Royal service that the Princess of Wales attended after the birth of Princess Louisa;<sup>28</sup> later in the same year his orchestrally-accompanied anthem, Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous, and his Te Deum were performed in Westminster Abbey at the first installation service of the revived Order of the Bath.<sup>29</sup> His last known composition, the anthem Give the King thy judgements, was composed a month before his death in August 1727 and may have been intended for the forthcoming coronation.<sup>30</sup> If so, it is significant that it is a normal verse anthem without orchestral accompaniment, as if Croft expected someone else to be called upon to write the large-scale music which had been his responsibility in 1714. Within the Chapel Royal, Croft's instrumentally-accompanied church music was not heard again after 1720.

There is no direct evidence to explain Croft's loss of initiative, but we can trace some of the events which worked against him. The reconciliation between the King and the Prince of Wales re-opened the normal opportunities for patronage, making it possible once again for a musician to put himself forward to the court without necessarily becoming involved in intrigues and the attendant dangers of offending the wrong people. In 1713 Handel had brought himself to the notice of the court and wider London society with the Utrecht Te Deum: in 1721 it appears that Greene set out to prove himself in the same sort of way. The King did not go to Germany in 1721, so there was no special service on his return, but somehow Greene managed to promote his own music for a Chapel Royal service which the King attended during the summer.<sup>31</sup>

- 32 From 1719 to 1730 Greene's music shared the honours only with Purcell's famous D major canticles: see Appendix 4. Here again, Croft was the loser.
- 33 This matter is considered further in Chapter 10. By 1736 Greene had acquired all the major court appointments available to a musician.
- 34 See Table 2, Note 4, supra. The same soloists were involved in any case with the Chapel Royal and Sons of the Clergy performances.
- 35 P.R.O. LC3/63, p.282. (Copy of Warrant) This was first discovered, by the present writer, in 1975.
- 36 There is ample documentary evidence for this in 1723/4. In 1725/6 Handel is not named, but the presence of Christopher Smith's name as one of the additional performers is sufficient to establish that Handel's music was involved. During the period 1720-1760 Smith's name only appears in the Public Records in connection with Handel performances.



Mr Geo: Hondall to  
be sworn Composer  
of Musick for his  
Maj: <sup>the</sup> Chap: Roy.

These are to require You to swear and Admit  
Mr George Hondall into the place and quality of  
Composer of Musick for his Majesty's Chapin Royal.  
To have full Exercise, and Enjoy the said place together  
with all rights, Profits, Privileges, and Advantages  
therunto belonging; And for so doing this shall be  
Your Warrant Given by a <sup>the</sup> this 25 day of Feby 1722<sup>13</sup>  
in the Ninth Year of his Majesty's Reign.

To His Majesty's Gent: Pleiers &c.

J. Colles Newcastle.

Greene had been Organist of St. Paul's Cathedral since 1718, where he produced orchestrally-accompanied anthems and canticles for the annual Feast of the Sons of the Clergy.<sup>32</sup> The 1721 Chapel Royal service brought his music before the King and, no doubt, Greene had his eye on an eventual Court appointment.<sup>33</sup> The scale of Greene's performance was obviously related to the precedents established in the two previous services celebrating the King's return from Hanover. We can not be sure which music of Greene's was performed: he may have repeated or adapted some of his earlier Sons of the Clergy pieces.<sup>34</sup> As far as the evidence of the Public Records goes, Greene did not receive any immediate reward. He came into his own at the Chapel after Croft's death in 1727, but the 1721 service probably gave him the necessary introduction at Court.

The newspapers are tantalisingly silent about the music which was performed in October 1722 on the occasion of the King's next return from Hanover. As far as we know, Greene did not try his luck again, and Croft did not resume his old position. This was almost certainly due to re-introduction of Handel's music in the Chapel. The evidence for this lies in Handel's appointment as 'Composer of Musick for His Majesty's Chappel Royal'.<sup>35</sup> (See Plate 1) The warrant for the appointment is dated 25 February 1722/3, a couple of days after Handel's 38th birthday and 13 days after the warrant for payments to extra performers for the 1722 Chapel Royal service. This appointment must surely have followed Handel's re-entry into the life of the Chapel, and the 1722 service is the only significant occasion of the period to which he can have contributed. Subsequent events provide retrospective confirmation: during the remainder of George I's reign, Handel's music was performed at the Chapel Royal services celebrating the King's return from Hanover.<sup>36</sup>

- 37 Copies of these certificates are therefore found in the Admissions Books P.R.O. LC3/63-65. Under exceptional circumstances the admissions were made by the Dean, or an approved deputy to the Sub-Dean. Procedure for admissions is prescribed in MCB.
- 38 P.R.O. T52/32, p.364 et seq. 'An Establishment of certain Annual Pensions and Bountys, which Our Pleasure is shall commence from the 25th Day of March 1723 and be paid and accounted payable Quarterly during our Pleasure, and upon the Death of any of the Persons receiving the same or other determination of our Pleasure therein'. On p.368:
- |                         |           |
|-------------------------|-----------|
|                         | per Annum |
| George Frederick Handel | 400 - -   |
- 39 The state of knowledge prior to my investigations of the Public Records is summarised in Smith: Concerning Handel, p. 52-3. The most thorough-going work on Chamberlayne's lists had been Chrysander: Kirchenkapelle. Smith's summary reveals that his knowledge of the Treasury documents is largely based on the printed volumes ed. W.A. Shaw. Handel's £400 pension continues to appear in the lists of George II's reign.
- 40 Chamberlayne's lists were often out of date, but my analysis of the Chapel Royal list leads me to the conclusion that this edition was more up to date than most.
- 41 p. 59



### Handel's Chapel Royal Appointment

No mention of Handel's appointment is found in the Chapel Royal Cheque Books. Handel's place was an addition to the regular strength, which already included two incumbent composers, and the instructions on the warrant make it clear that it was a 'Court', rather than 'Chapel' appointment. Chapel Royal appointees were sworn in by the Sub-Dean, who periodically forwarded certificates of appointment to the Lord Chamberlain for inclusion in the general records.<sup>37</sup> The instruction for Handel's admission was issued to the Gentlemen Ushers, who dealt with admission to the "Servants of the King above Stairs", such as the King's Chaplains, Chemists and Tailors. Nor was Handel paid from the Chapel Royal account. There are no payments to Handel as Composer for the Chapel in the Public Records, but the sudden leap in Handel's pension from £200 to £400 is a disguised payment for this office. The original £200 was, of course, the pension granted by Queen Anne. Handel's £400 pension began from 25 March 1723, when a new pension list was established.<sup>38</sup>

The unusual nature of Handel's appointment explains the apparently anomalous entries in Chamberlayne's Magna Britanniae Notitia which have hitherto puzzled Handel biographers.<sup>39</sup> It is not surprising that Chamberlayne did not catch up with Handel's appointment in his 1723 (26th) edition. It was also omitted in the next edition, dated 1726,<sup>40</sup> but in the 28th. edition (1727) "Composer of Musick for the Chapel Royal Mr. George Handel" appears, not with the Chapel Royal lists, but properly in the section devoted to 'Above Stairs' Servants, immediately after the list of the King's Musicians and in company with the Instrument Keeper, Instrument Maker and Organ Maker.<sup>41</sup> It may be significant that the post of Tuner of the Organs suddenly re-appears, listed by Chamberlayne immediately below Handel's appointment. Perhaps Croft had to be

42 Pages 303-332 of P.R.C. LC3/63, which might have included a record of Croft's appointment, are missing. For the office of Tuner of the Regals and Organs see Supplement, Conditions of Performance.

43 Williams: Constitution, p. 59. This was originally intended to prevent William III from filling Court places with Dutchmen.



placated in some way for Handel's appointment and this post, previously held by Blow, was revived for him.<sup>42</sup> Because Handel was rewarded through a pension, his Chapel Royal appointment was effectively 'lost' from the routine Treasury-Audit system of Court accounts, because his name does not appear in the regular itemised lists of payments to the King's Servants. Administratively speaking, if the Composer for the Chapel Royal was not paid, he did not exist. This explains the confusion in subsequent editions of Chamberlayne's work. Having included the Composer in the 1727 list, Chamberlayne lost the scent, presumably because he based his published work on normal Court lists: the next two editions (1728 and 1729) have blank entries for the Chapel Royal composer. The appearance of Greene's name from the 31st. (1735) edition onwards seems to have been a rationalisation from the information in the Chapel Royal list. The later pension lists reveal that Handel continued to be paid his £400 pension for the rest of his life. There is no evidence that Greene ever received an additional payment of the same sort outside the normal run of Chapel Royal finance.

It is easy to see the reason for the unusual manner of Handel's appointment. One of the provisions of the Act of Settlement, 1701, to which George I owed his title to the English throne, was as follows:

That ... no person born out of the kingdoms of England, Scotland or Ireland, or the dominions thereunto belonging (although he be naturalised or made a denizen, except such as be born of English parents) shall ... enjoy any office or place of trust, either civil or military.<sup>43</sup>

It is doubtful whether this was applied strictly to the appointments of, for example, the King's Musicians, which included a

44 There had been three Chapel Royal organists at one stage during the seventeenth century (See OCB, p. 126), so there was a precedent for a third appointment within the normal establishment, if this had been envisaged.

45 See also Chapter 10, infra.

...

...

46 Plumb: Georges, p. 66-67;  
Hatton: George I, p. 280-1.

number of people with foreign names, but it would probably have been difficult to appoint Handel to a normal salaried court post. In any case, there was no question of Handel performing the same sort of service as the two established Chapel Royal composers, taking his turn on the rota in the Chapel for the routine services.<sup>44</sup> The Chapel was one of the most "English" parts of the court establishment and Handel, who was not even a member of the Church of England, might not have been acceptable to the Dean and Sub-Dean even if the legal obstacles were overcome.

Consideration of the section of the Act of Settlement quoted above shows that Handel's successful petition for naturalisation in February 1727 made no difference to his institutional position within the Chapel, and it is doubtful whether Handel's decision to pursue naturalisation was stimulated by the desire to advance his position with regard to the Chapel.<sup>45</sup> The timing of Handel's naturalisation is certainly intriguing. It is true that the signing of Handel's Naturalisation Bill was one of George I's last public acts, that Handel's actions made his future a little more secure in the next reign, and that an 'English' Handel was perhaps in a better position to face his English critics. It is also highly probable that Handel's music would not have been allowed at the 1727 Coronation if he had not become an Englishman beforehand: the provision of the music for an English Coronation was not the job for a foreigner. Nevertheless, the synchronisation of the events of 1727 seems to have been fortuitous. When George I signed Handel's Naturalisation Bill he appeared to be in good health, and his death on the way to Hanover four months later took everyone by surprise.<sup>46</sup>

As to the reasons for Handel's appointment to the Chapel Royal in 1723, we again lack incontrovertible documentary evidence, but



- 47 EP July 26-28 1722, FE July 28-31
- 48 The Chapel Royal soloists, named in DE Aug 8 and elsewhere, were all also members of the Westminster Abbey choir. Reports on the size of the orchestra vary between '30 Pieces of Musick' (SJEP Aug 7-9) and '46 Violins, 13 Bass Viols and other Musical Instruments' (EM Aug.7-9), but leave no doubt that a sizeable force was employed.
- 49 The first part was performed during the opening procession, possibly by the Westminster Abbey choir alone. (See Boyer: Political State, xxiv, p. 150-151). Croft published the Burial Service in Musica Sacra, i (1724). I have suggested that this may have been a revision of music originally composed in 1708 for the funeral of Queen Anne's consort (See Chapter 2, supra.)
- 50 There were many more reports besides those referred to above and it is not necessary to list them all: nearly every London newspaper published between 26 July and 11 August included some reference to the music and many printed the text of Bononcini's anthem.
- 51 The King and the Prince of Wales were officially represented in the funeral procession by the presence of their coaches.
- 52 Marlborough's position under George I still awaits proper historical investigation. Hatton (George I, p. 122) believes that there was no personal animosity between the two men.
- 53 See Lindgren: Noises. It seems that, although the Marlboroughs were 'Whigs', there was also a substantial Whig lobby which distrusted their influence.

there were currents in the musical and political life of London society which made the tide flow in his direction. One of the most significant events of the preceding year had been the funeral of the Duke of Marlborough. The Duke died in June 1722 and his funeral took place in Westminster Abbey on 9 August, with a pomp and magnificence which certainly made it the most memorable service of the year for the London musicians. Handel was not asked to compose the music. The newspapers heralded the event thus:

The Dean of Westminster has appointed Dr. Croft's to compose an Anthem on that Occasion: the Deans and Prebends are to walk in their Copes as upon a Coronation, and Dr. Croft's in his mantle; and we hear the Choirs of St. James's and St. Paul's are likewise to attend.<sup>47</sup>

In the event the most important music for the funeral was composed by Bononcini: his anthem, When Saul was King, was performed in King Henry VII's Chapel at the Abbey by a large force of instrumentalists and singers, led by Weeley; Freeman, Gates, Laye and Baker from the Chapel Royal, and King from St. Paul's.<sup>48</sup> Croft's burial service was also performed.<sup>49</sup> The rehearsals and the service received a great deal of attention in the press.<sup>50</sup> The Prince and Princess of Wales, with their three eldest daughters, watched the funeral procession from houses in Pall Mall, but the King did not turn out,<sup>51</sup> nor was any public mourning ordered in honour of the national hero. Perhaps there was the trace of a long-standing coolness between the King and his great commander here.<sup>52</sup> It certainly seems that the Duchess of Marlborough's consistent support for Bononcini was part of a wider web of political and social intrigue.<sup>53</sup> The King had a motive for rewarding his own composer to counterbalance the Marlborough patronage of Bononcini.

On 24 August, just over a fortnight after the Duke of Marl-



- 54 See Fritz: Jacobitism, Chapters 7 and 8. The charge of Treason against Atterbury could not be sustained, and his eventual deportation was on the strength of the rather unsatisfactory Bill of Pains and Penalties. With the evidence now available to us, we can see that Walpole's instinct that Atterbury was a dangerous man was correct: he had been an important instrument to Jacobite plans since at least 1716 (Fritz, op. cit., p. 18-19).
- 55 Walpole's investigations were in full swing by then: he had stepped up the pressure after the death of Sunderland on 19 April.
- 56 Fritz, ibid., p. 83. WEP May 10-12 'We hear, the King has laid aside his Intetnion of going to Hanover this Summer'. It had previously been expected that the King would leave London soon after the Birthday celebrations (28 May).
- 57 PM May 31-June 2.

borough's funeral, the Dean of Westminster who had been in charge of the arrangements for the funeral was committed to the Tower of London on a charge of high treason. This event marked the mid-point in the discovery of a Jacobite plot in which Francis Atterbury was certainly involved.<sup>54</sup> The political ambitions of Walpole magnified the size of the Jacobite threat, but it is true enough that in 1722 the Hanoverian court faced its most serious challenge since the '15, and Walpole's fears found many echoes in Parliament and at court. The first public references to the plot had been made at the beginning of May,<sup>55</sup> and the early rumours of the seriousness of the plot were sufficient to force George I to cancel his intended visit to Hanover.<sup>56</sup> He went to Kensington for the summer instead, leaving St. James's on 1 June.<sup>57</sup> When the court returned to St. James's on 5 October Atterbury had not yet been brought to trial, but the immediate danger was clearly over. It was appropriate to the mood of the moment that the King's safe return to St. James's should be celebrated with a service in the Chapel Royal comparable to those which normally followed his return from Hanover. Handel's contribution came at a time when the King was most likely to reward his supporters and allies: no doubt many of the new names on the 1723 pension list were being rewarded for their part in pursuing the Jacobite plot. Handel's petition for naturalisation four years later said that he "hath constantly professed the Protestant Religion, and hath given Testimony of his Loyalty and Fidelity to His Majesty and the good of this Kingdom". He was demonstrating these allegiances at the Chapel Royal service in October 1722.

58 All of the works also include Organ continuo.

59 See Appendix 6 for biographical details of all the soloists named.

60 See Chap. 10 and Appendix 14. I have found no references to any other special Chapel Royal services before 1732 for which Handel might have provided music.

Handel's Chapel Royal music from the Second Period

The music composed by Handel for Chapel Royal services of the 1720's can be readily identified. A consistent group of soloists, named by Handel on the autographs, was available and the orchestral accompaniments have a characteristic scoring for strings (including violas) and woodwind soloists. The repertoire is as follows:

Anthem 5B: Singers named - Hughes, Gethin, Wheeley  
Orchestra<sup>58</sup> - Oboe, Strings.

Anthem 6B: Singers named - Hughes, Bell, Gethin, Wheeley,  
Baker, Edwards  
Orchestra - Oboe, Strings (including Double Bass).

Anthem 11B: Singers named - Hughes, Wheeley  
Orchestra - Oboe, Bassoon, Strings (including  
Double Bass).

A Major Te Deum: Singers named - Hughes, Bell, Gethin,  
Wheeley, Gates  
Orchestra - Flute, Oboe, Bassoon, Strings.

To this list must also be added:

Caroline Te Deum: Revival of earlier work with new movement  
"Vouchsafe, O Lord". (See Chapter 5)  
Singer named - Hughes.

This movement is scored for Flute and Strings.

Anthem 6D: Singers named - Hughes, Bell, Wheeley, Gates.  
No orchestra, but Violoncello obbligato in No. 4.

Hughes, the principal soloist named in all of these works, ceased to be active soon after 1730, and Gethin emigrated in 1732. Bell was not associated with the Chapel until 1719/20.<sup>59</sup> Handel ceased to provide music for Chapel Royal services celebrating the King's return after George I's death in 1727,<sup>60</sup> so the complete group can be attributed with confidence to the years 1720-1727. Some guess-work has to be used in the chronological distribution of this music



over the three Chapel Royal services (1722, 1724, 1726) for which Handel provided the music, but there is a limited amount of helpful evidence from the musical sources and from the references given in Table 1. It may be summarised thus:

- (1) The autographs of the A major Te Deum and Anthem 11B have identical paper and handwriting characteristics. They were apparently composed together for performance at the same service.
- (2) The orchestration of the A major Te Deum and Anthem 11B includes a bassoon, which has substantial solos. The payments for extra performers in 1722 do not include a bassoon player, and therefore these pieces can not have been performed in that year.
- (3) In 1724 Handel was paid for "the Anthem" and the newspaper reports, though ambiguous, seem to suggest that the anthem was new but the Te Deum setting was not necessarily original. The 1724 payment was presumably for music copying, comparable to the one made in 1726 to Smith for "the Te Deum". The 1726 payment was about twice the size of the previous one. The obvious inference is that in 1726 both the Te Deum and the Anthem were new, and therefore needed parts copied: in 1724 the Anthem was new, but the Te Deum may have been a revival, using pre-existing parts.

The combined evidence of (1), (2) and (3) leads to the conclusion that the A Major Te Deum and Anthem 11B were probably performed in 1726. It may be noted in passing that the 1724 service was the first one of its type for which copying charges were paid. Presumably Croft in 1719 and 1720, Greene in 1721 and Handel in 1722 had to pay their own copying costs.



61 See Chapter 5.

62 Handel successfully dealt with the Trumpet solos of the Utrecht Jubilate by giving them to Cboe when he reduced the scoring for Cannons (See Chapter 6, supra, sub Chandos Anthem 1). The same technique could be used with ease in the Caroline Te Deum, which has no independent woodwind parts in the 'Trumpet' movements.

- (4) The payments for additional performers reveal that Handel employed a slightly different orchestra from that used by Croft and Greene in previous years. In particular there was a move away from using the trumpets. Handel's Caroline Te Deum, which has trumpet parts, was revived at one of these services:<sup>61</sup> this would have been perfectly feasible with the solo trumpet parts re-allocated to the oboe.<sup>62</sup> The absence of payments to flautists in the official records is not significant: the solo flute parts in the Caroline Te Deum and A Major Te Deum could have been played either by the oboist or by one of the "double-handed" string players.
- (5) The paper characteristics of the autographs do not provide conclusive evidence on the distribution of the music between 1722 and 1724. The position is as follows:

Anthem 5B: Watermark unique in Handel autographs.

Similar stave rastra found in the autographs of Ottone (August 1722) and Alessandro (April 1726).

Anthem 6B: Watermark of introductory sinfonia found in several autographs, the latest being Tamerlano (1724). Watermark of main anthem identical only with one folio of Silete Venti (undated), though similar to watermarks Bc (1721) and Be 3 (Giulio Cesare, f. 17-18 and 21-2, ?1723). Stave rastra unique in autographs.

Caroline Te Deum, Movement 5B: See Chapter 5. Closest watermark match is in Giulio Cesare, Acts 2 and 3 (1723-4). Rastra unique in Handel's

63 It is, for example, the only work from the period with a separate opening sinfonia: a legacy from Cannons.

64 The Bassoon would presumably have been given a part like many of those in the 'Aylesford' sets, extracted editorially from the instrumental bass part.

65 The procedure of beginning from familiar material as a 'starter' to more original creations fits well with Handel's general approach to composition: compare, for example, Gerald Abraham's examination of his use of borrowings and 'generating themes' in Abraham: Handel, p. 262-274.

autographs, though similar to Giulio Cesare conducting score.

There are musical grounds for suggesting that Anthem 6B was composed first, for 1722,<sup>63</sup> in which case, Anthem 5B followed in 1724. The Caroline Te Deum could have been revived in 1722 or 1724, or both. Putting all of this together, the following tentative scheme for the three services results:

7.10.1722: Anthem 6B (?and Caroline Te Deum)

5.1.1723/4: Anthem 5B (?and Caroline Te Deum)

16.1.1725/6: A Major Te Deum and Anthem 11B.

It will be seen that my suggested programme for 1724 does not include any works with independent bassoon parts, although a bassoon player was paid for this service. The bassoon presumably just strengthened the continuo line in appropriate places in 1724,<sup>64</sup> but Handel was stimulated to provide something more imaginative on the next occasion. Handel's predilection for two double basses in all three performances (as against the single bass employed by his predecessors) is noteworthy.

If the suggested chronology is correct, we are faced with the remarkable possibility that Handel began each major group of his English Church Music so far examined with a version of the same anthem, Anthem 6C being his first Chapel Royal work from the first period (c. 1712), Anthem 6A his first Chandos Anthem (c.1717) and Anthem 6B his first orchestrally accompanied Chapel Royal anthem from the second period (c. 1722).<sup>65</sup> The case for suggesting that Anthem 6B was the first in Handel's series of orchestral anthems from the 1720's is strengthened by its relationship to the one non-orchestral anthem of the period, Anthem 6D. These two anthems are the subject of the next chapter. The remaining music is dealt with in Chapter 9, in the order suggested above.

CHAPTER EIGHT

NEW VERSIONS OF ANTHEM 6 - 'AS PANTS THE HART'

	page
Anthems 6D and 6B - order of composition	268
Anthem 6D	275
Autograph	283
Anthem 6B	286
Autograph	307
Autograph and Copies of 1738 additions	309
Principal Copy, 1722 version	310
Manuscript Copies	312



1      Lies: Das Anthem 'So wie der Hirsch schreit'

2      'C and D erwiesen sich sofort als unfertig  
und unvollendet' (ibid., p. 2)

3      Schoelcher: Catalogue (MS), nn 17.18,  
p. 466 et seq.

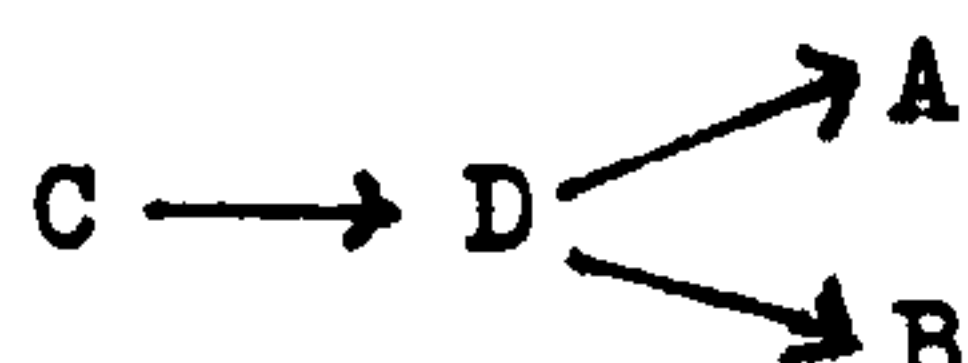
4      See Chapter 3, Copies B and C

## NEW VERSIONS OF ANTHEM 6

## - 'AS PANTS THE HART'

Anthems 6D and 6B - order of composition

In an important article on Handel's versions of Anthem 6,<sup>1</sup> Paul Mies described the two versions without orchestral accompaniment as mere sketches, and saw the relationship of the four basic versions thus:




Neither of these assumptions seems to be correct. Versions 6C and 6D are complete works in their own right, certainly not 'unready and unfinished'.<sup>2</sup> Nor can D have been written before A: the presence of Bell's name on the autograph of 6D gives the terminus ante quem as 1720, about three years after the Chandos version. Schoelcher<sup>3</sup> had previously interpreted the chronology of the four versions more accurately from the evidence of the singers' names. He guessed that 6D was written in 1721 and 6B in 1727, though giving no reason for these dates. The chronological sequence of versions C, A and B is not in any doubt, but the position of 6D in the sequence demands attention. Two alternative positions are possible. Either 6D was composed 1720-1722, before 6B, or it was composed last, between 1722 and c. 1730. The motives for the composition of 6D must also be considered. If Handel had intended 6D as a contribution to the routine repertoire of the Chapel Royal, it might have been composed at any time during the 1720's.

Reference must be made at this point to the strange titles which were added to manuscript copies of Anthem 6C in the 1770's.<sup>4</sup> These obviously reflect a belief on someone's part that Handel

5 Collection, 1724, p.81. I have been unable to find any newspaper advertisements to supply the exact date of publication, but there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the date on the title page.

6 Collection, 1736, p. 102; Collection, 1749, p. 71

7 It would perhaps have been rather uncharacteristic of Handel to allow his music into part-books, where it would be out of his own control. Handel's music for the orchestrally-accompanied services did not reach the part-books: the performing material was arranged by Smith, who no doubt kept it afterwards. This seems to have been the standard arrangement: although copying charges were paid to composers for special anthems, canticles and for the Court Odes, the music remained the property of the composer. In view of Handel's appointment as Composer to the Chapel Royal he might have made some contribution to the standard repertoire, but this does not seem to have been one of his duties.

1.  S pants the hart for cooling  
streams: so longs my soul  
for thee, O God.  
3. Tears are my daily food:  
when thus they lay, where is now thy  
God?  
4. Now when I think thereupon, I pour  
out my heart by my self: for I went  
with the multitude, and brought them  
out into the house of God.  
5. In the voice of praise and thanksgiving:  
among such as keep holy-day.  
6. Why art thou so full of grief, O my  
soul: why so disquieted within me?  
7. Put thy trust in God: for I will praise  
him.

## PSAL. XLII.

By Mr. GEORGE FREDERICK HANDELL,  
Composet to his Majesty.



VERSE ANTHEMS.

71

CHAPTER 8, PLATE 1

ext of 'As pants the Hart', printed in the Chapel Royal Word-book  
of 1749



had recomposed or re-arranged one of the orchestral versions of 'As Pants the Hart' as a verse anthem, by command of King George II, for the Chapel Royal. Since the existence of 6D was apparently unknown after Handel's death, it was a reasonable assumption that the available copies of Anthem 6C embodied just this arrangement. Leaving aside the reference to George II, which may have been a mistake, musicians in the 1760's could point to one piece of evidence in support of the hypothesis that Handel had provided the Chapel Royal with a 'repertoire' Verse Anthem version of the anthem. The 1724 edition of the words of anthems 'as the same are now performed in his Majesty's Chapels Royal' included, as the last of the Verse Anthems in the main section,<sup>5</sup> the text of As pants the Hart 'By Mr. GEORGE FREDERICK HANDELL, Composer to his Majesty'. This was reprinted in the two following editions of the word-book, in 1736 and 1749.<sup>6</sup> Plate 1, from the 1749 edition, reproduces exactly the 1724 text. Handel's versions of the anthem all followed basically the same text, but there are some minor variations. As will be seen from Table 1, the word-book version is marginally closer to 6D and 6B.


It is very unlikely that any of Handel's versions of Anthem 6 was accepted into the Chapel Royal's day-to-day repertoire. The anthem is not to be found in the surviving Chapel Royal part-books from the 1720's, and there is circumstantial evidence that the Chapel did not retain copies of the music.<sup>7</sup> An innovation in the 1749 printed word-book was the inclusion of marginal entries specifying the solo voices used in each verse anthem. Handel's text is the only one with no entry in the margin: it seems that the compiler looked in vain for the music to which the text was supposed to refer. The next edition of the word-book appeared in 1769. By then, William Boyce had adapted the Cannons version of


Handel's anthem as a verse anthem for the Chapel.<sup>8</sup> Boyce's arrangement, which probably dates from the 1760's, may have been made at the request of the King:<sup>9</sup> the need for this arrangement in itself is a clear demonstration that 6C and 6D were unknown at the time.


If Anthem 6D was not composed for the day-to-day Chapel Royal repertoire, it must have been intended for some special occasion. Since all of the 'occasions' for which there is documentary evidence have been accounted for in Chapter 7,<sup>10</sup> a more fruitful line of enquiry lies in examining more closely the relationship between 6D and 6B. These two versions have several movements with music in common, and a close examination of Handel's amendments to details of composition in the autographs reveals the priority of 6D. Two examples will serve to demonstrate this.

At bar 17 of the first chorus, 'As pants the Hart', Handel copied the Alto 1 part from 6C into 6D. He then changed his mind and cancelled the entry with a bar's rest.<sup>11</sup> This arrangement was carried forward without further alteration into 6B. At bars 37-8 of the next chorus, 'In the voice of Praise', Handel originally copied into 6D the chorus bass part from the parallel passage of 6A.<sup>12</sup> (Ex. 1, a-b). He recomposed this into a simpler form

Ex. 1                      6A original:

(a)   
In the voice of praise of thanks-gi--ving, a-mong such as keep holy-day  
Copied into 6D thus:

(b)   
In the voice of praise of thanks-gi--ving, a-mong such as keep  
Revised form in 6D:

(c)   
In the voice of praise of thanks-gi-ving, of thanks-gi--ving,

13 .It may be doubted whether the Chapel Royal regularly performed all of the verse anthems whose texts appear in the printed word-books. Some of the longer occasional anthems seem to have been included in the word-books because of their commemorative associations, though it must be admitted that most of them also appear in the part-books. The inclusion of Handel's text in the word-book may have been almost in the nature of an advertisement of the Chapel's association with the composer.



## Chapter 8 Table 1

Variants in the texts of Handel's versions of 'As Pants the Hart'

6C	As paints the hart for cooling streams, so longs my soul for Thee, O Lord.	
6A	pants	God.
6D	paints <sup>2</sup>	God.
6B	pants	God.
1724	pants	God.

(Wordbook)

6C	Tears are my daily food, when thus they say: where is now thy God?
6A	while
6D	when
6B	when
1724	when

Now, when I think thereupon, I pour out my heart by myself.  
(Identical in all five sources.)

For I went with the multitude and brought them out into the  
house of God  
(Identical in all five sources.)

6C	In the voice of praise of thanksgiving, among such as keep holy day
6A	of
6D	of
6B	of
1724	and

6C, 6A, 6D and 6B	Why so full of grief, O my soul? Why so disquieted within me?
1724	Why art Thou so full of grief ...

6C	Put thy trust in God, for I will praise Him.	Amen.
6A, 6D, 6B and 1724	Put thy trust in God, for I will praise Him.	No "Amen".

## Notes:

- (1) Sources are the autographs of 6A - 6D and Collection,  
1724
- (2) In 6D Handel wrote "paints" originally and altered most occurrences to "pants". Elsewhere I have ignored the occasional vagaries and inconsistencies of Handel's spelling ("Daly" for "Daily", "Powr" for "Poor" etc.)



- 8 Boyce shortened the solos and ritornellos, transposed the music to D minor and composed his own arioso/recitative setting of 'Now when I think thereupon'. The latter has some similarities, probably casual, with the setting in 6B.
- 9 Text printed in Collection, 1769, p. 91: 'Composed for Voices with Instruments, but adapted to voices only by Dr. Boyce'. The music occurs in Barrow's hand in the set of Chapel Royal part-books based round Organ Book RM.27.d.8. At the end of the organ part (f.32r): 'Note Originally wrote for three Voices, with Instruments by Mr. Handel/Alter'd by Dr. Boyce'. The part-book entries appear to date from the mid-1760's, but Boyce's arrangement may have been made as early as 1760. The confused headings to manuscripts of Anthem 6C, already referred to, may partly be explained by the existence of Boyce's version.
- 10 See Chapter 7, Tables 1 and 2.
- 11 The original Alto 1 entry doubled the Alto 2 part, entering half way through the phrase. Handel's alteration produced a much more satisfactory result, using Alto 1 to strengthen the Treble entry at bar 18.
- 12 There is no parallel passage from 6C:  
see Chapter 6, sub Anthem 6A, No. 5.

6

12

17

61

97

69

6

61

61

61

61

61

61

61

61

61

61

61

61

61

61

61

61

61

61

askep ho - - - - - in the voice of praise hands giving of thanksgiving

I praise in the voice of praise in the voice of praise of thanksgiving

I praise ho - - - - - by you who have kept ho - - - - - in the voice of praise of thanksgiving

I praise in the voice of praise hands giving of thanksgiving in the voice of praise of thanksgiving

CHAPTER 8, PLATE 2

Autograph of Anthem 6D, showing the alteration to the Bass part at bar 38 of No. 3

(Ex. 1c, see Plate 2) and the revised form was carried forward 'clean' into 6B.

Anthem 6D must therefore have been composed between 1720 and c. 1722, the date tentatively ascribed to 6B. Although 6D is a complete work in itself, Handel seems to have revised it into the orchestrally-accompanied version almost immediately. The absence of secondary copies of 6D and the absence of documentary references may suggest that it remained unperformed. The most likely hypothesis seems to be that Handel composed 6D for the Chapel Royal service of 7 October 1722 and then discovered (or was informed) that the employment of the King's Musicians was in order for the occasion, following the precedent set by Greene's music in July 1721. The literary text of 6D, or possibly 6B, was circulated by some means to those responsible for the 1724 Anthem word-book.<sup>13</sup> If 6D was never performed, it is not surprising that it did not reach the Chapel Royal part-books: hence there was nothing to find when the compilers of the 1749 book looked back to find the music that tallied with their text.

Whatever the precise dates for the genesis of 6D and 6B, the clarification of 6D's place in the sequence enables us to approach the music from the right direction. It enables us to explain one apparent anomaly in the autographs: Handel's confusion over Bell's voice. Handel originally thought that Bell was an alto and wrote accordingly in 6D, probably in advance of actually hearing him sing. By the time he composed 6B Handel knew better: he lowered the tessitura of Bell's part in the first chorus and wrote for him as a tenor in the later movements.



14 Handel's verbal cues in 6C are rather rudimentary, but generally his intentions are clear: they are not followed in Chrysander's text, which is based on secondary MSS. Most of the uncertainties from 6C can be cleared up by reference to 6D, which is generally accurately reproduced by Chrysander except in Alto 2, bars 21-24. Handel did make some deliberate changes in the word-setting as well: he improved bars 23-24 of the Treble part, for example, by changing the word-underlay.

Anthem 6D

When Handel composed Anthem 6D, he had 6C and 6A available to him. Table 2 summarises the indebtedness of 6D to the previous settings. It is hardly surprising that the chorus movements were worked from 6C, which had been composed for Chapel Royal forces including some of the same singers, rather than 6A. Certain difficulties attended the use of any material from 6A: orchestral parts had to be eliminated, voice parts had to be adapted from a three-part ensemble to a larger one, and transposition was necessary.

Taking the design of the anthem as a whole, the most interesting revision lies in the transposition of the last movement. When Handel composed his first setting of the anthem, 6C, he did not try to give it a tonic orientation: he began in D minor and ended in B flat major. In 6D he followed the general design of 6C up to the central chorus, 'In the voice of praise', but in the last two movements he seems to have felt the need for a tonic-related ending, and this change of outlook explains the transposition of the last movement down a semitone. Table 3 gives the key-schemes for all of Handel's versions of the anthem.

No. 1: As pants the Hart

Handel took this movement over from 6C with very little alteration. Bell was given Elford's former music virtually unchanged, save for an exchange of parts with Hughes at bars 28-31. Some details of the voice-leading were tidied up, and Handel was a little more careful about specifying the word-underlay than he had been in 6C.<sup>14</sup> There were some minor improvements to the continuo bass line and there are many more continuo figurings than in 6C, some of them derived from 6A and one manifestly in conflict

Chapter 8 Table 2Anthem 6D:Sources from Handel's previous settings

<u>6D movement</u>	<u>Source</u>
No.1 As pants the Hart	6C, except for the insertion of one bar from 6A.
No.2 Tears are my daily food.	?New, but ideas from 6A. Opening related to third movement of Recorder Sonata, Op. 1 No. 7. <sup>1</sup> Motifs at bar 18 et seq. derived from 6A.
No.2A Now, when I think thereupon	Some features in common with 6C.
No.3 In the voice of praise	Bars 1-25 from 6C, remainder from 6A.
No.4 Why so full of grief?	6A
No.5 Put thy trust in God	6C

Note: (1) The Recorder Sonata (Autograph Cfm MS 263, p. 13-17) was composed before the Anthem.  
Terence Best dates the Sonata c. 1712.

## Chapter 8 Table 3

Key-schemes of all versions of Anthem 6

	<u>6C</u>	<u>6A</u> (transposed) <sup>1</sup>	<u>6D</u>	<u>6B(1)</u> <sup>2</sup>	<u>6B(2)</u> <sup>2</sup>
Sinfonia	-	d minor	-	d minor	d minor
As pants:	d minor	d minor	d minor	d minor	d minor
Tears:	a minor	g minor	a minor	a minor	a minor
Now when I think:	a - e minor	d - a minor	C major	C major	d minor - - F major
For I want:	C major	F - C major	C major	C major	d minor
In the voice:	F major	F major	F major	F major	F major
Why so full?:	g minor	a minor	d minor	d minor	d minor
Put thy trust:	B $\flat$ major	d minor	A major	d minor	d minor
Alleluja	-	-	-	-	d minor

Note: (1) All movements from 6A transposed down  
a tone to facilitate comparison.

(2) 6B (1) is the Chapel Royal version.

6B (2) is Handel's revision of this anthem for  
use in his 1738 Oratorio.



15 Bar 39, beat 1. There is nothing in the previous settings to explain Handel's '9' here, except possibly a 4-3 suspension which he removed in this version. Chrysander's '6' at bar 23, beat 2, is not in the same category: it is a misreading of Handel's 'b 3'.

16 Their relation to the anthem's tonic is different, however, owing to the transposition of the anthem as a whole.

with the harmony above.<sup>15</sup> It is interesting that Handel intended the movement to be taken faster than in the Cannons version: 'A tempo Ordinario' in 6D as against 'Adagio' in 6A.

The only substantial change to the musical content of the movement was in the final bars. Handel took over the idea of repeating "for Thee" at bars 47-8 from 6A, but incorporated it within material which was based on 6C rather than 6A. Departing from his two previous settings, Handel decided to dispense with a final ritornello at the end of the chorus. Reference will be made to this again in connection with Anthem 6B.

#### No. 2: Tears are my daily food

In this movement Handel re-worked ideas which he had developed in 6A. (See Table 4). Comparisons of the two is facilitated by the fact that both are in the same key.<sup>16</sup> The balance of the movement is altered: Handel compresses the first half from 54 bars to 9, while keeping the second half to a comparable length. The first vocal phrases have the same rhythmic ideas as 6A, except that Handel eschews the use of dotted rhythms until 'where is now thy God'. The chorus entry at bar 17 is so effective an arrangement of the previous orchestral material that it is tempting to believe that Handel had thought of it in choral terms when he wrote 6A. The dramatic differentiation of roles between the soloist and chorus appears only in this version of the anthem: it works well but Handel did not repeat it in 6B. As in all Handel's versions of the anthem, this movement ends on the dominant of A minor: the relationship to the key of the subsequent movement is slightly more distant than in the previous settings.

Chapter 8 Table 4Anthems 6A and 6D:Comparison of settings of 'Tears are my daily food'.

<u>Anthem 6A</u>		<u>Anthem 6D</u>	
<u>Bar Nos.</u>		<u>Bar Nos.</u>	
1-28	Orchestral Ritornello A minor	1-4	Continuo Ritornello A minor
28-54	Treble solo, modulating to C minor	5-8	Alto solo, ending in C major
55-68	'Where is now thy God?' Dotted figure.  Voice answered by Orchestra. Closing ritornello ends in E minor.	9-27	'Where is now thy God?' Dotted figure derived from 6A  Voice answered by Chorus.  Ends in E minor.
68-81	Solo, opening words Returns to tonic	27-34	Solo, opening words Returns to tonic
81-95	'Where is now thy God?' Solo and orchestra answer. Ending on Chord V.	35-44	'Where is now thy God?' Solo and chorus answer.  Ending on Chord V.

17 In bars 33-34 Handel also simplified the bass part. This included, surprisingly, the removal of semi-quavers from the subject in bar 34.

18 Again, there is one exception to the general pattern of Handel's revisions, in the obbligato 'cello part at bars 25-26 (compare 6A bars 39-40). In this case 6D is more decorated than 6A.



No. 2A: Now when I think thereupon

This, a straightforward recitative for Bass, is the simplest and most compressed setting of the text encountered so far. There are a few rhythmic echoes of the previous settings, and a reminiscence of 6C in the treatment of the continuo bass part at bar 8.

No. 3: In the voice of Praise of Thanksgiving

For the first 25 bars Handel took over the chorus as it stood in 6C, except that he modified bar 3 of the subject at each appearance with the semiquavers from 6A, and revised the inner parts in bars 19-25. He wanted to replace the short 4-bar ending from 6C with the extended coda, with its inverted entries of the subject and long dominant pedal, which he had worked out in 6A. From bar 26 to the end he transcribed and adapted the three voices of the Cannons "chorus" into a four-voice version: the small amount of additional material needed to supply the extra voice part owes little, if anything, to the orchestral parts from 6A. The musical substance was unchanged, but some of the part-writing was tidied up in the course of transcription.<sup>17</sup>

No. 4: Why so full of grief, O my soul?

This movement is a straightforward re-arrangement of the setting from 6A, transposed from B minor to D minor and touched up here and there (See Table 5). The basso continuo part was improved and the rhythm of the motif for "Why so disquieted" consistently simplified.<sup>18</sup> The ritornellos were drastically shortened, but elsewhere in the movement the Chapel Royal 'Cellist took over the role previously taken by violin and oboe in the Cannons version. With three melodic strands to play with (2 voices and 'Cello), Handel found it convenient to redistribute some of the

Chapter 8 Table 5Anthem 6D:Adaptation of 'Why so full of grief?' from Anthem 6A

<u>Bar Nos. (6D)</u>	<u>Commentary</u>
1-5	Opening ritornello. Theme (in bass) derived from 6A bars 1-3, 16-17.
6-22	Transcribed from 6A, bars 18-36. Bar 27 of 6A cut. Bars 31-33 of 6A recomposed and reduced by 1 bar to 6D bars 18-19.
23-49	Transcribed from 6A, bars 37-64. 1 bar (6A 58) cut.
49-65	Transcribed from 6A, bars 64-79. 1 bar (6D 51) added.
66-79	Transcribed from 6A, bars 80-93.
80-85	Closing ritornello. Derived from 6A bars 94-5, 101-2, 110-111.

19 For example, 6D Alto 1 bars 60-64 is based on  
6A Oboe bars 74-78. Alterations in the autograph  
of 6D bars 59-62 reveal that Handel was working  
out the re-distribution as he went along.

Interchange between vocal and instrumental parts  
was fairly easy because the obbligato parts in  
6A had, in any case, been based on the melodic  
figures in the vocal parts.

material between them.<sup>19</sup> It is interesting to observe that, for the first time, Handel's cadences at the words "within me" treat the last syllable as a weak one. (See Ex. 2).

Ex. 2

6D 30 0  
[Alto 1]   
Why so dis-qui- - - - -e- - - -ted with-in me?  
Compare 6C:   
Why dis-qui-e- - - - -ted - with-in me?  
end 6A   
Why so dis-qui- - - - -ted wi- - - - -thin me?

No. 5: Put thy trust in God

No. 5 was transposed from 6C with no significant differences in the main body of the movement (bars 1-42), though there are some trivial alterations to the word underlay and the bass line. The consecutive unisons between tenor and bass at bars 20-21 do not seem to have troubled Handel when he made the transposition, for he did not change them. He wrote the chorus in four parts throughout, ignoring the pretence at a fifth part from the opening bars of 6C. For the final bars Handel discarded the "Amen" from 6C in favour of a short adagio conclusion rather similar to the end of 6A.

The speed indication at the opening (Allegro ma non troppo) is new. Handel added speed indications with great care throughout 6D: one of the signs that the anthem, whether performed or not, was a finished composition.



20 Clausen: Direktionspartituren, p. 202

21 Dating based on paper characteristics + :  
Watermarks Cl, Cm and Cp, Rastra 05, 92 cm. The  
MSS were probably bound together in the 1780's,  
and the volume was certainly in its present form  
by the mid-nineteenth century: see Rophino Lacy's  
annotations to the fly-leaf of Add. MS.31557 and  
Schoelcher: Catalogue (MS) Mn.17.18, p.468

Autograph

B.L. RM 20. g.10 f.23-36 (Complete anthem) 2 bin., 1 un.

Watermark: Bc This watermark is rare in Handel's MSS.

It is found in the autograph of Floridante (1721)

(RM 20.b.2, f.47-8, 60-67) and in the conducting

score of Radamisto (1720)<sup>20</sup>

Rastrography: 10-stave @ 2 30. Rastra very similar in

characteristics to the autograph of Muzio Scevola,

Act III (1721) (RM 20.b.7)

Singers named:

No. 1. Mr. Hughs (Alto 1); Mr. Bell (Alto 2);

Mr. Whely (Bass 1); Mr. Gates (Bass 2).

No. 2. Mr. Hughs (Alto)

No. 2a. Mr. Whely (Bass)

No. 4. Mr. Hughs (Alto 1); Mr. Bell (Alto 2)

In No. 1 Handel altered "Paints" to "Pants" on most appearances of the first phrase.

In No. 4 the obbligato instrument is named as "Violoncello" at the start of f.32v, and Handel wrote 'Organo' against the treble clef part in the closing bars. The continuo instruments are not named in any other movement.

The autograph is now bound with Handel's copies (c.1750) of Latin church music by Legrenzi and others.<sup>21</sup> These works do not belong together in date or genre: presumably they came together as a heap of 'odds and ends' within the main body of Handel's autographs. This may account for the fact that the work eluded eighteenth century copyists, who might have found the Latin works without examining the rest of the sheets. There are no MS copies of the anthem and it was not printed until Chrysander's edition in

HG xxxvi (1872). As already noted, the confused titles which adorn some copies of Anthem 6C might be taken as evidence that a later generation knew that Handel had composed a 'verse' setting of the anthem in the 1720's, but failed to find the music.

22 Performance 28 March 1738. See Deutsch:  
Handel, p. 455.

23 Autograph BL RM.20.h.1, f.26-28. The movement was obviously composed as part of Athalia. Dean (Oratorios, p. 254, 643) states that the 'Alleluja' was composed for the anthem and re-used in Athalia, but this goes against the clear evidence of the sources.







# ORATORIO.

## The FIRST PART.

### CHORUS.

**A**S pants the Heart for cooling Streams,  
So longs my Soul for thee, O God.

### VERSE.

Tears are my daily Food  
When thus they say,  
Where is now thy God?

### RECIT. ACCOMP.

Now when I think thereupon,  
I pour out my Heart by my self;  
For I went with the Multitude,  
And brought them out  
Into the House of God.

### CHORUS.

In the Voice of Praise, of Thanksgiving,  
Among such as keep holy Day.

### DUETTO.

# ORATORIO.

## DUETTO.

Why so full of Grief, O my Soul?  
Why so disquieted within me?

### CHORUS.

Put thy Trust in God, for I will praise him.  
Alleluja.

Mi palpita il core  
Nè intendo perche.

Agitata è l'anima mia  
Nè sa che cos'è.

### ARIA.

La speranza, la Costanza  
Vincerà col suo valor.  
E compagno pur dell'opra  
Sarà ancor divino Amor.

Da capo.

### RECIT.

Chi con core innocente  
Confida ognor nel Cielo,  
E sempre riverente

Dà al sommo Dio le preci in caldo Zelo,  
Speri da lui l'aiuta  
Nè casi avversi; egli è la nostra vita.

### CHORUS.

The mighty Pow'r in whom we trust  
Is ever to his Promise just;  
He makes this sacred Day appear  
The Pledge of a propitious Year.  
Give Glory to his awful Name,  
Let every Voice his Praise proclaim.

### ARIA.

Anthem 6B

When Handel composed this setting he had the experience of three previous versions behind him, 6C, 6A and 6D. 6D was his most recent setting and it had been composed for the Chapel Royal so it is not surprising that Handel drew mainly on this version when he composed 6B. 6C was not directly used at all: Handel probably regarded it as having been superseded by 6D. The Cannons version, 6A, provided material for the solo movements, the opening Sinfonia and the final chorus. It is remarkable that Handel drew so little on 6A, his only previous version with orchestral accompaniment, for the concerted movements. He seems to have thought it more efficient to add orchestral parts to the 4/6 part choruses worked out in 6D than to re-arrange the Cannons version for larger forces.

In order to examine Anthem 6B as composed for the Chapel Royal, c. 1722, it is necessary to disentangle the work's textual history. Handel revised the anthem in March 1738 for his benefit performance at the King's Theatre, Haymarket, entitled simply An Oratorio.<sup>22</sup> The motive behind the revision is fairly obvious: Handel began the performance with As Pants the Hart and had to turn a relatively small-scale anthem into a work appropriate to his oratorio forces and to the expectations of the theatre audience. The word-book for An Oratorio gives the text of the anthem (see Plate 3). The final 'Alleluja' must be the D minor setting found in several secondary sources of the anthem but not in the composer's autograph, which ends with a simple 4-bar Adagio. There is no doubt that this movement was added in 1738. It had been composed in 1733 as the final movement of Part 1 of Athalia.<sup>23</sup> A section of the basso continuo part prepared for the 1738 Oratorio fortunately survives today, in the same collection as the

24 This, in company with other 1738 material,  
is fully described in the section devoted to  
sources at the end of this chapter. The origin  
of the Fitzwilliam part was first identified in  
Dean: Oratorios, p. 261.

25 The Oratorio was a single performance, so it is  
• not surprising that a separate conducting score  
• was not prepared.

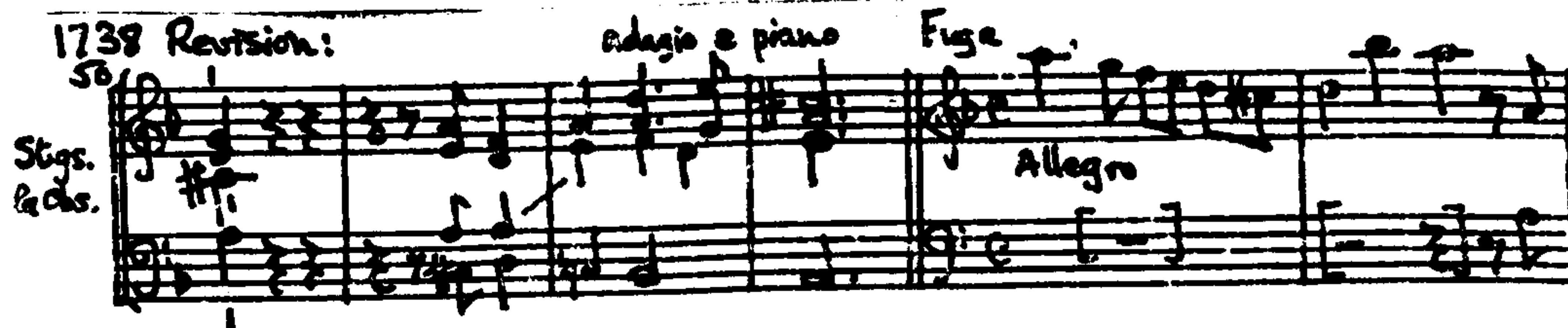


Handel autographs at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.<sup>24</sup> The purpose of this part is clear. In 1738 Handel used the anthem autograph as a conducting score,<sup>25</sup> and the Fitzwilliam part was used in conjunction with it. A pencil line down the score at bar 40 of the last movement in the autograph (f.24) provides continuity to the Fitzwilliam part, which commences with a new linking passage in score but goes over to continuo bass only as soon as the Alleluja is established.

Looking back into the autograph of the anthem, two further major amendments can be found which must be associated with the 1738 performance:

- (1) Opening Sinfonia: Closing bars re-cast to give a dominant (instead of tonic) ending, leading into an additional second movement taken from the Sinfonia to Chandos Anthem 2 (See Ex. 3). The amendment was made by Han-

Ex.3 Original ending:



del in pencil on f.3 of the autograph. It produced a more substantial two-movement Sinfonia, appropriate to the beginning of a theatre performance.

- (2) No. 4: Now, when I think thereupon. The original setting was an 11-bar accompanied recitative for Bass in C major. Handel re-set this movement in D minor, divid-

26 Various other details of the MS are also claimed to be in Handel's hand by later annotators, but all but one of these can be dismissed. See the further description of this source, infra.

*Staphylococcus aureus*

*Staphylococcus aureus* is a Gram-positive, spherical bacterium that is commonly found on the skin and in the nose of humans and animals. It is a facultative anaerobe, meaning it can grow with or without oxygen. *S. aureus* is a major cause of skin infections, such as abscesses, boils, and impetigo. It can also cause more serious infections, such as pneumonia, osteomyelitis, and sepsis. *S. aureus* is known for its ability to form a biofilm, which is a community of bacteria that is attached to a surface and is resistant to antibiotics and the immune system. *S. aureus* is also known for its ability to produce toxins, which can cause a variety of symptoms, including fever, chills, and muscle aches. *S. aureus* is a common cause of food poisoning, and it is also a major cause of hospital-acquired infections. *S. aureus* is a highly adaptable bacterium, and it is able to survive in a wide range of environments. *S. aureus* is a major public health concern, and it is important to understand its biology and how to prevent and treat infections caused by this bacterium.



Handwritten musical score for Basso Continuo, Plate 4, Chapter 8. The score consists of six staves. The first three staves show a continuous bass line with various note values and rests. The last three staves contain the lyrics "why so disquieted within me" written in cursive. The notation includes various note values, rests, and bar lines. There are some corrections and annotations in the original manuscript, such as "why so disquieted within me" written over the last three staves and "Handel's own corrections and notes" written in the margin.

CHAPTER 8, PLATE 4

Handel's additions to the Basso Continuo stave of Anthem 6B in the hand of J.C. Smith the elder



ing the verse into two. The first half was given to a bass soloist (Accompanied Recitative, 6 bars) and the second half to chorus tenors and basses, tutti, (30 bars) with orchestral accompaniment. The aim of this alteration was to strengthen the choral element, providing a striking new concerted movement which also, incidentally, tightened up the flow into the following movement.

Handel crossed out his original setting of the movement in pencil in the autograph, and wrote 'mutato'. His autograph of the new setting was the wrong size for insertion into the main anthem autograph, so Smith copied the movement in the appropriate format and his copy was inserted.

Some other alterations, of rather less significance, may also have been made in 1738, though they are difficult to date with certainty. These involve additional or amended speed indications, and a revision to the closing ritornello of the first chorus. They will be considered in the context of the appropriate movements.

Reference must be made at this point to an important early manuscript score of the anthem, British Library Add. MS.31557. This is the only secondary manuscript of Handel's Chapel Royal music to contain autograph additions which suggest that it might have been used by the composer. Two short additions to the continuo bass line in the duet movement, No. 6, appear to be in Handel's hand.<sup>26</sup> (See plate 4.) This copy may have originated as the conducting score prepared for the anthem's first performance c. 1722. If so, its existence strengthens the hypothesis that 6B was Handel's first orchestrally-accompanied Chapel Royal anthem of the 1720's series: after the first occasion



27 . In particular, this is true of the style of  
his semiquavers. This feature has already  
been noted in Chapter 5, in connection  
with Smith's insertion in the autograph of  
the Caroline Te Deum.

28 The handwriting of the title page has some  
characteristics reminiscent of S2's hand,  
which would suggest a date rather earlier,  
c. 1730-60. It cannot certainly be concluded  
that this is S2's title, however, and our  
present ignorance of the provenance of the  
MS during the eighteenth century limits the  
scope of guesswork.

29 Since 6D (which includes Bell's name among the  
soloists) preceded 6B, it is impossible that  
6B can have been composed before 1720.

Handel found out that he did not really need a separate conducting score. Whether or not this manuscript was intended as a conducting score, it dates from the same period as the composer's autograph of the anthem: Smith's handwriting is in the style he cultivated in the 1720's<sup>27</sup> and the paper characteristics of the copy are similar to those of the autograph. This source is therefore of the highest value as evidence for establishing the 1722 text, free from later additions.

In view of the importance of this manuscript, passing mention must be made of its title page. The score of Anthem 6B is bound with a copy of 6A in the hand of J.C. Smith junior, and the MS title page to the complete volume reads "Two Anthem's/Composed for his Grace the/Duke of Shandous by/G.F. Handel Esquire/London 1719". This title is not in the hand of either of the Smiths and may have been added during the second half of the eighteenth century.<sup>28</sup> The possibility that the writer of the title page had some information which has not come down to us, and that 6B was Handel's second attempt at a setting for Cannons, can be dismissed for two reasons. In the first place, the paper characteristics of the Anthem's autograph point to the 1720's rather than to the Cannons period, and in the second place the singers named on 6B include Hughes, Baker, Edwards and Whely, Chapel Royal Gentlemen who, as far as is known, never performed at Cannons.<sup>29</sup> Whoever wrote the title page must have made a misguided guess about 6B on the strength of its fortuitous coupling with 6A, which is a genuine Cannons work.

As we would expect, the groups of solo singers named on the autographs of 6B and 6D are very similar. The most arresting difference is the absence of Bernard Gates from 6B. Presumably he was indisposed, unavailable, or out of 'waiting' when the anthem

30 Handel did, in fact, lay out his part in the alto clef at the beginning of the duet, but changed it to the tenor clef before proceeding with the composition. . .

31 The movement is untitled in the autograph, but Smith called it 'Sinfonia' in Add. 31557.

32 The section from bars 33-40 is crossed out in pencil in the autograph of 6A. Although this is the same cut as that made for 6B, I think it more likely that Handel marked it when he prepared the movement for the publication of the Trio Sonata, Op. 5 No. 3, c. 1739.

33 This re-appears in the Violin 1/Oboe parts at bar 49.



was performed. The solo part in the first chorus formerly given to him in 6D was re-allocated to Baker, who also gained a new solo in the last movement. In 6B Handel named the leading voices for the chorus 'In the voice of praise': the basses included Edwards as well as Whely and Baker. I have suggested that Handel discovered that Bell did not have as high a voice as he had expected. The "second alto" solo part in the first chorus was retained by Bell from 6D with some adaptation, but in No. 4 he is named as leader of the chorus tenors, and his solo part in the duet "Why so full of grief" is in the tenor clef.<sup>30</sup> Gethin is named as the tenor soloist in the first chorus, but Handel forgot to give him any solo music.

Each version of the anthem was produced under different circumstances: in 6B Handel seems to have been aiming for simplicity and directness when he adapted earlier music. The orchestral accompaniment provides an additional interest which was not available in 6C and 6D, but the scoring is tidier and more practical than it was in 6A. If 6B has a fault it lies in the lack of tonal variety in the final movements, both of which are in D minor.

#### No. 1: Sinfonia<sup>31</sup>

The single-movement introduction is derived from the first movement of the Sinfonia to Anthem 6A, transposed down a tone. Although Handel shortened the music, the 3-part structure of the original was preserved. The first section was left largely intact, the second section shortened by 8 bars:<sup>32</sup> it is in the final section that most re-composition occurs. (See Table 6.) Apart from a descending scale at bar 46,<sup>33</sup> hardly any of the thematic material of this third section is new, but Handel works it in a tighter, less repetitive, manner than in 6A. The reduc-

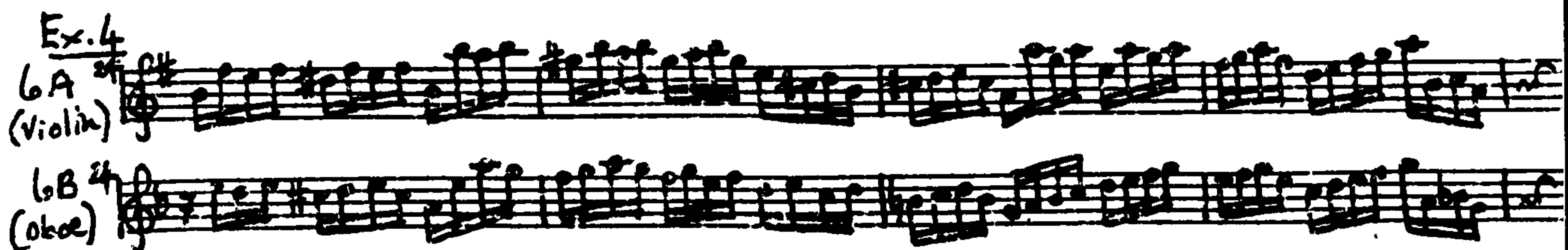
Chapter 8 Table 6Anthem 6B:Derivation of opening Sinfonia from Anthem 6A

<u>Anthem 6B</u>	<u>Source from 6A</u>
(Bar Nos.)	(Bar Nos.)
1-24	1-24
24-32	24-32
	(Bars 33-40 cut)
33-39	41-47
40-52	Loosely based on 48-63

34 Another reason might have been the desire to increase the dynamic contrast of the echo effects: trills tend to increase the volume of the piano bars. Fawcett added trills to his violin part of the anthem (See infra, Copy H), but his practice can not be regarded as having the composer's authority.

tion of the Sinfonia to a single movement required a new tonic ending.

Although the instrumental resources for the Chapel were slightly larger than those at Cannons, the differences in instrumental arrangement between 6A and 6B tend towards a simplification rather than elaboration of the texture. In the outer sections of the Sinfonia the oboe doubles the violins much more in the Chapel Royal version, and in bars 12-16 an independent oboe counterpoint is removed altogether. This alteration can hardly have been prompted by a deficiency in the player, since both versions were probably written for Kytch. The middle section demonstrates how well Handel understood his instruments: the violin solo from 6A, with its leaps and string-crossings, is transformed into an idiomatic oboe solo. (Ex. 4)



It is difficult to read Handel's mind on one point of performance practice. The trills in the violin parts in bars 2, 4 and 6, which are clear enough in the autograph of 6A, were not transferred to 6B. This might have been carelessness on Handel's part, but it might also have been deliberate: conditions in the Chapel perhaps dictated a plainer style.<sup>34</sup> When Handel used the music of the Sinfonia again for the Peace Anthem, he headed the movement "Larghetto e staccato" - the



35 The sequence in 6B is therefore 'solos/chorus/  
orchestra added', as against 'chorus/orchestra/  
chorus and orchestra' in 6A.

"staccato" part of the direction possibly warning against the addition of trills.

The 'Larghetto' on the autograph of Anthem 6B is in Smith's hand.

#### No. 2: As pants the Hart

Handel worked this movement from Anthem 6D, transcribing the basso continuo and the voice parts with minor revisions. When he added the orchestral accompaniment he did so without reference to his previous orchestral version of the movement in Anthem 6A. The orchestral parts of the two versions are not merely independent of each other, but they are added with different functions in mind. In both, the first 'orchestral' entry is the oboe at bar 11: in the Cannons version this provides an additional part, while in Anthem 6B its role is to strengthen the treble line. The first entry of the upper strings in the Cannons version (bar 16) promises to be the start of a separate orchestral exposition: in the Chapel Royal version the orchestra is withheld at this point, entering later to heighten the tutti at the climax of the chorus entries.<sup>35</sup> The doublings of the voice parts and the contrapuntal additions are re-thought from first principles throughout the movement. In one place (bars 42-3) Handel even simplified the texture by removing one of the entries of the counter-melody which had appeared in all of the previous versions. One of Handel's new orchestral additions brings out, almost absent-mindedly, a relationship between the two main themes of the movement which had not been made explicit before. (. See Ex. 5)

36 At bars 21-22 6D had taken over the text from 6C for the upper parts, including a technically unsatisfactory unison doubling of Treble and Alto 2, the former ending a phrase and the latter in mid-phrase.

Ex. 5

Oboe

Alto 2

Tenor

As pants the hart for cooling streams  
so longs—my soul for Thee, O God

As we would expect, the main alterations to the voice parts in the autograph occur where Handel decided to improve or experiment with his 6D source. The first real amendments come in bar 22, where Handel tried to improve the unsatisfactory layout of treble and alto parts.<sup>36</sup> Handel's improved knowledge about the range of Bell's voice prompted him to rearrange the central solo entries from bar 28: Bell was given the former first bass part (at the same pitch!), with consequent re-arrangement to the succeeding entries. Handel also took the opportunity to redistribute the treble solo in this passage, perhaps confirming a weakness in the treble voices which is suggested by his use of the oboe as a 'bumper'.

A remarkable by-product of Handel's reliance on 6D as the copy text for this movement can be seen in the final bars. 6C and 6A concluded with an instrumental epilogue after the final choral cadence, but in 6D Handel had decided against this. In 6B he faithfully copied the ending from 6D and scored it up as it stood, finishing at bar 52. This ending was subsequently subjected to three revisions:



37 In terms of the design of the anthem as a whole, this place presented Handel with a continual difficulty: he kept changing his mind between a forcereul tutti ending and a ritornello 'buffer' to take the temperature down before the next movement. The diminuendo epilogue in 6B, carefully marked 'pian/piu pian/pianiss' by Handel, repeats a technique from the end of No. 1 of the Utrecht Te Deum.

38 The epilogue occupies exactly the one (verso) side of the paper. It was not unusual for Handel to leave a blank side at the end of anthem movements when he finished on a recto: there are several instances in the autographs of the Chandos Anthems. There was good reason, in any case, for Handel to treat Nos. 2 and 3 as physically separate units: he changed copy texts from 6D to 6A between them.

- (1) Handel added a new 5-bar orchestral epilogue to the end of the movement,<sup>37</sup> on the blank verso of the completed movement.<sup>38</sup>
- (2) The epilogue was crossed out in pencil and the original short ending restored. It is not possible to tell who made the deletion, but the word "Fine", added in ink next to the short ending, is in the hand of J.C. Smith senior.
- (3) Handel restored the epilogue, writing "Stat" in pencil at the top of the page and crossing out Smith's "Fine".

Since the orchestral epilogue appears in Add. 31557, we can assume that it dates from 1722 and that it should be an integral part of the text of the Chapel Royal version of Anthem 6B. The clef-forms on the music of this epilogue in the autograph are sufficiently different from those of the main body of the movement to suggest that Handel made this revision after he had proceeded with, or even completed, the rest of the anthem. My impression is that revisions (2) and (3) both date from 1738: that Handel decided to cut back the end of the movement but then changed his mind.

The speed direction "Largo" at the start of the movement in the autograph is in Smith's hand; the source movement from 6D was marked "A tempo ordinario".

### No. 3: Tears are my daily food

This movement was adapted, with some compression and a certain amount of re-composition, from the parallel movement

39 Taking an overall view, it must be remembered that Handel was actually returning to the key-scheme of his previous Chapel Royal versions here, all of which followed the D minor chorus with an A minor solo movement.

40 Compare the similar omissions in the Sinfonia, already noted.

41 Another place might be bars 48-9. These bars are mainly derived from 6A bars 75-76, with material exchanged between oboe and solo voice; the b flat in the vocal part at 48, however, seems to come from 6D bar 28.

in 6A. Handel did not even have to transpose the movement: A minor was related to D minor (the key of 6B) as well as to E minor (the key of 6A).<sup>39</sup> The replacement of a treble soloist with an alto entailed some re-working of the voice part. Table 8 shows how the compression of length was effected whilst still preserving the structure, and indeed the notes, of the original.

There are a couple of interesting points of detail. The Chapel Royal version consistently lacks some trills which are present in the orchestral parts of the Cannons version (6B bars 9-15, compare 6A 18-26).<sup>40</sup> The movement, as in all of Handel's earlier settings, ends with an imperfect cadence in A minor. In Anthem 6A the rhythmic disposition of the last three bars has followed a hemiola pattern. Handel did not repeat this, but followed instead the rhythm of 6D. This is one of the few places in the movement where the direct influence of 6D can be felt.<sup>41</sup>

The speed direction in the autograph (Larghetto) is in Smith's hand. The parallel movement in 6D carries the same speed indication, but that from 6A is 'Un poco adagio'.

#### No. 4: Now when I think thereupon

This is based on the recitative from 6D with orchestral accompaniment added. The final bars are broadened a little, improving the effectiveness of the imitations between voice and accompaniment and also making the cadence rather less perfunctory.



Chapter 8 Table 7Anthem 6B:Derivation of 'Tears are my daily food' from Anthem 6AAnthem 6B(Bar Nos)Commentary

1-18	Opening ritornello	Ritornello from Anthem 6A shortened by 10 bars near the beginning (6B bar 6 = 6A bar 16). This alters the proportions of the binary design: the A section (modulating to the relative major) is foreshortened whilst the B section remains the same.
18-32	Vocal section 1	Derived from 6A bars 28-35 (bars 22-24 of 6B recomposed), and 48-54 (bars 28-31 of 6B recomposed). Follows the same key scheme as 6A.
32-41	Vocal section 2	Derived from 6A bars 55-63 (bars 38-41 of 6B recomposed). Same key scheme as 6A.
42-54	Vocal section 1A	Orchestral ritornello from 6A (63-68) cut. Newly composed section, but following the same tonal scheme as 6A: E minor 6A bar 74 6B bar 47 D minor 6A bar 77 6B bar 50 (The comparable passage in 6D follows a totally different plan) 6B bars 50-54 are equivalent to 6A bars 77-80.
54-66	Vocal section 2A	Based on 6A bars 81-95, shortened by the omission of 6A bars 87 and 89.

42 For example, the viola part in bars 13-15.

43 This had been derived, in turn, from 6A.

Nevertheless, Handel was clearly using 6D, and not 6A, as his source here.

No. 5: In the voice of praise of (and) thanksgiving

This movement is based on the version that Handel had worked out in 6D. As was the case with No. 2, he must have copied out the voice parts first and then added the orchestral parts because once again the orchestral material is independent of that found in 6A. There are the same types of differences as before: the doubling of voice parts follows different principles and orchestral additions to the texture<sup>42</sup> are completely different from those of 6A. Handel's arrangement in 6B is simpler than in 6A: in general he doubles the voices at the unison or the octave with the string parts which represent the same register, and strengthens the first violin/treble part with the oboe wherever convenient.

Up to bar 23 Handel followed the track of 6D precisely. He seems to have had doubts about the exposition on the inverted form of the subject which began at bar 26 of 6D and removed this, approaching the dominant pedal more directly. Consequently, there is no separate exposition of the inverted subject in 6B, but the inverted form contributes to a fine cumulative climax over the dominant pedal point. The basic shortening was effected by composing a new bar (Bar 26) to replace bars 26-34 of 6D. In order to make the link smoothly Handel had to re-compose the preceding bars 23-25. He tried to make sense of the tenor entry in 6A bar 25 before abandoning it for something simpler: it is interesting that the descending scale excised in the process from 6A bar 24 re-appeared in the bass at the new bar 26. Once back on course, Handel returned to his 6D source for the closing bars of the movement: 6B bars 27-36 are copied and orchestrated from 6D bars 35-44.<sup>43</sup>

In the autograph of the movement 'Allegro' in Smith's hand has been crossed out in pencil. There is no indication at all in



Add. 31557. The movement was probably designated 'Allegro' in 1738 before Handel composed the new setting of No. 4: Allegro is an appropriate marking for No. 5 when it follows the original 1722 recitative. When preceded by the alternative version No. 4B, on the other hand, the chorus naturally follows l'istesso tempo from the end of 4B, which is 'Andante'. Hence the 'Allegro' was crossed out when No. 4 was replaced by the new movement. This explanation makes sense aesthetically: the original accompanied recitative (4A) seems to demand the reaction of a faster chorus, but the second setting (4B) can continue satisfactorily under its own weight, flowing into No. 5 with gathering momentum as the upper voices enter, without the need for a change of speed.

No. 6: Why so full of grief, O my soul?

This is the only movement of the anthem for which Handel used two copy-texts simultaneously. He drew mainly on 6A for the instrumental parts, and mainly on 6D for the vocal parts. In the layout of the text and the arrangement of the bass line Handel seems to have begun by favouring 6A, but then crossed over to 6D. (See Table 8.) One source is always subject to possible modification from the other: at bar 69, for example, the main source is 6D bar 56, but the bass part owes something to 6A, bar 70. Nevertheless, the influence of 6D grows noticeably stronger as the movement proceeds.

The reasons for the general dominance of 6D as the main source are not difficult to establish. 6D, unlike 6A, had the movement in the key which Handel wanted, and it embodied some of his previous decisions about textual revisions. Furthermore, 6D had been written with the same Chapel Royal singers in mind. Such revisions as Handel made to the vocal parts between 6D and 6B are nearly



Chapter 8 Table 8

Anthem 6B:

Derivation of 'Why so full of grief, O my soul?' from 6A and 6D

Anthem 6B

Commentary

(Bar Nos.)

1-18      Opening ritornello, source 6A bars 1-18 with solo violin and oboe parts reversed. Some minor recomposition at approach to the cadence, bars 16-17.

18-92      Main source is 6D, bars 6-80, but with some reference to 6A. There are two major departures from 6D:

Bar 27: Restoration of bar 27 from 6A (previously cut in 6D, bars 14-15)

Bar 73-78: Mixed derivation from 6D and 6A, as follows:

6B	73	74	75	76	77	78-92
6D	60	61	-	63	65	66-80
6A	74	76	77	78	79	(80-94)

In bars 55-67 Handel followed the text he had worked out in 6D, including two major revisions described supra, Table 5 (6A bar 58 cut, 6D bar 51 added).

92-99      Closing ritornello orchestrated from organ ritornello, 6D bars 80-85. Two bars (6B 96-97) added. The extra bars may owe something to 6A bars 104-105.

44 The rhetorical treatment of the text at the end of the movement can be traced back to Handel's first setting, 6C. There is no 'slow' or 'adagio' at the parallel places in the versions previous to 6B - i.e. 6C, 6A and 6D. Handel's 'slow' in 6B seems to have been part of the original 1722 text - it was copied by Smith into Add. 31557.

all directed towards the same end - the lowering of the tessitura of Bell's part. Passages including top a' and b b' are removed, producing a radical change in the shape of the opening entries:

**Ex. 6**

Alto 1  
[6D and 6B]  
(Hughes)

Alto 2  
[6B]  
(Bell)

B.C.  
[6D]

Tenor  
[6B]  
(Bell)

B.C.  
[6B]

Why so full of grief, O my Soul?

Why so full of grief, O my Soul?

Why so full of grief, O my Soul?

Why so full of grief, O my Soul?

#

Sources: 6D, bars 6-12; 6B, bars 18-24

At bar 54, a high b flat is transferred from the voice into the oboe part: at bars 73-5 Handel resorted to downwards octave transposition. The top notes in bars 84-7 are avoided by inverting the two voice parts.

The obbligate oboe and violin parts in 6B are indebted to their ancestors in 6A, but most of the rhythms are presented in simpler forms in the Chapel Royal version,

becoming

There is just one exception to this, at bar 70, where Handel does exactly the reverse.

Handel wrote "Larghetto" at the start of the movement but changed languages at bar 87 and wrote "slow" rather than "adagio".<sup>44</sup> Handel's addition of a rudimentary bass part to the instrumental

45 Handel's additional basso continuo notes were not copied into the autograph, so they do not appear in any of the secondary MS copies which were derived (at various removes) from the autograph.



echoes in bars 79, 81 and 83 in Add. 31557 (see plate 4) hardly seems to improve the overall musical effect. It is conceivable that he was playing for safety here: perhaps some hazard of Chapel Royal conditions separated the obbligato instruments and they needed the continuo to keep them together.<sup>45</sup>

No. 7: Put thy trust in God

Handel used the Cannons setting of this text as the basis for the final movement of the anthem. His judgement was sound. The original Chapel Royal version from 6C and 6D was unpromising material for adaptation with orchestral accompaniment. The music from 6A provided a lively but dignified conclusion, reflecting the confidence of its text in solid, if rather four-square, vein, with the orchestral accompaniment as an essential element to the musical sense. It introduced variety because it was not in triple time like the previous movement, though at the same time it did introduce the problem of overbalancing the key scheme with too much tonic. Handel had to choose between two successive movements in the same metre or two successive movements in the same key. The speed indication, 'Andante', is Handel's; there is no marking on the chorus in 6A.

Handel's treatment of the opening section of the movement provides a useful insight into the differences between the Cannons and Chapel Royal establishments. The Cannons version begins with a florid, almost concerto-like, tenor solo (30 bars) over an independent continuo bass part. In the Chapel Royal this sort of music was the perquisite of the alto soloists. It would have been possible for Handel to have arranged the music for alto: the opening phrase, transposed down from E minor to D minor, would have been too low for alto as it stood, but it might have

Chapter 8 Table 2Anthem 6B:Adaptation of 'Put thy trust in God' from Anthem 6AAnthem 6BCommentary and Derivation

(Bar Nos.)

- 1-16 Bass solo. Opening based on 6A bars 1-11.  
Bars 12-16 newly composed, with modulation to relative major (bar 15 - no exact parallel in 6A).  
Returning to tonic at bar 16, which is a simplified form of 6A bar 31.
- 17-21 Chorus entry: theme in bass. Tonic.  
Based on 6A, bars 32-36.
- 22-30 New treble entry at bar 21½, replaces treble entry at 6A bar 37, cutting 2 bars from 6A and producing a closer canon. 6B bar 22 equivalent to 6A bar 39 (Tenor entry), and subsequent bars 22-30 based on 6A bars 39-47.
- 31 New bar, replacing 6A bars 48-60, which had contained an entry of the theme in D minor (C minor, if transposed to the key of Anthem 6B), and a short working-out based on the running quavers of bar 2 of the theme.
- 32-40 Based on 6A, bars 61-69. Theme in bass.  
Tonic key, ending on Chord V.
- 41-44 New Adagio conclusion, using harmonies from similar conclusion to 6A, bars 70-71.

survived octave transposition. Instead, Handel gave it to a bass soloist, treating the opening phrase as the bass line of the harmony. The result is clearly reminiscent of the beginning of 'In the voice of praise and thanksgiving'.

Handel followed the music of the Cannons version for the first 11 bars, with a little strengthening of the orchestral parts, but then elided the subsequent florid section by writing a short 5-bar cadential link to terminate the solo. This link includes a reference, possibly accidental, to the discarded triple time setting of the movement (Ex. 7).

Ex. 7

6/8 for I will praise ——— Him.

Compare 6C: 30/8 I will praise ——— Him,

Handel retained from the Cannons version the idea of overlapping the chorus entry with the end of the solo, the crowd bursting in to support the affirmations of the soloist. Thematic material from the Cannons violin part supplied some of the music for the additional voice part required by the Chapel Royal chorus. In revising the choral section of the movement, Handel excised one statement of the theme from the Chandos movement completely, losing 13 bars in the process, and tightened up one of the other entries. Table 9 gives the revision plan for the complete movement. As a finale, the movement was strengthened by the compression: the Chapel Royal version is simple, direct and to the point. The new Adagio termination to the movement is similar to that at the end of 6A, though the values of notes and rests are augmented.



As in the previous choruses, the orchestral parts are sufficiently different in layout and texture to indicate that Handel thought out the scoring afresh, without copying his working from 6A. Sometimes the orchestral texture is more transparent (e.g. bars 19-20, compare 6A bars 33-4), at other times it is more dense (bars 22-4, compare 6A bars 38-40). Even the violin figuration in the decorative link bars (28, 30) is differently constructed from the parallel passages in 6A. Throughout the anthem, in fact, we find examples of Handel re-thinking the arrangement from first principles in preference to the easy alternative of copying down pre-composed orchestral parts and adapting additional instrumental lines to match.



Autograph

B.L. RM 20.g.1 (Complete autograph, with one insertion)

1 bin., lacking last sheet (f.1-3);

5 bin., last one lacking final sheet (f.4-11, 14-24).

6 gatherings, numbered 1-6 in ink, probably by Handel.

Insertion: 1 un. (f.12-13) entirely in the hand of  
J.C. Smith senior.

Watermarks: Bd (f.1-3 only); remainder similar, but not  
identical, to Clausen Bc.

Insertion: ?Bk

Rastrography: 12-stave @3 55.5 (f.1-3)

12-stave @2 33.5 (remainder)

Insertion: 10-stave @5 122.5

The Sinfonia (f.1-3) may have been composed last and added after the completion of the main anthem. Handel headed the Sinfonia " 4<sup>th</sup> (Psalm) 42", but otherwise, there is no title. The composer's pencilled additions for the 1738 revision have already been described. Smith's source for the inserted movement is described under 'Autograph of No. 4B'. Smith's additions of speed indications to certain movements have been described above in the context of the individual movements. On the evidence of Add. 31557 (see below) most of them seem to date from 1722 rather than 1738.

Singers named:

No.2.Mr. Hughs (Alto 1); Mr. Bell (Alto 2);

(Mr.) Getting (Tenor);

Mr. Whely (Bass 1); Mr. Baker (Bass 2)

No.3. (Mr.) Hughs (Alto)

No.4A. Mr. Whely (Bass)

No.5. Mr. Hughs and ContrAltos (Alto);

Mr. Bell and Tenors (Tenor);

Mr. Whely ("Baker Basses" crossed out) (Bass 1);

Mr. Baker Edwards Basses (Bass 2)

No.6. Mr. Hughs (Alto); Mr. Bell (Tenor)

No.7. (Mr.) Hughs (Alto); (Mr.) Bell (Tenor)

Mr. Baker (Bass 1).

There are two instrumental bass lines in the Sinfonia and the choruses. These staves are labelled for Violoncello / Organo et (Contra)Basso in the Sinfonia, but for the opposite combination (ContaBasso / Organo et Violoncello) in No. 2. The use of tenor clefs on the lower staves suggests that the second combination was intended in Nos. 5 and 7, where the labelling of the parts is not specific. There is no mention of a bassoon anywhere in the autograph.

. . .  
.  
.  
.  
.  
46 This appears to be unique in Handel's autographs.  
Some autographs from the 1720's (Muzio Scevola,  
Floridante, Ottone, Flavio) have 5-stave rastra  
with a similar span, mainly associated with the  
Bd watermark. However, the individual stave-  
rulings do not match up with those of the present  
autograph, so the rastra are only accidentally  
similar in span.

47 Dean: Oratorios, p. 261

Autograph and Copies of the 1738 additions . . .

Autograph of No. 4B

B.L. Add. 30308, f.27-8 (1 un.)

Watermark: ?Bk

Rastrography: 10-stave @5 86.5.<sup>46</sup>

No bass soloist is named for the opening accompagnato.

2 oboes are specified by Handel for the succeeding Andante.

There is no double bar at the end of the autograph: Handel goes straight on after a single barline with a cue for the beginning of the following chorus. The layout of this ending clearly implies that No. 5 should start without a hiatus, picking up the same beat as the previous Andante section.

Performance continuo copy

Cfm MS 265 (30.H.15) p.53-5, 61. All in the hand of J.C.

Smith senior. 'Alleluja' conclusion to anthem, beginning in full score ( 5 bars) and then figured bass only.

The arrangement of p. 53-66 is rather confusing: Winton Dean, who first identified the origin of this MS, thought that the pages had merely been bound incorrectly.<sup>47</sup> This is not so: the confused appearance of the MS is the result of Handel's decision to insert some extra music into part 1 of the Oratorio after the part had been copied. The 'Alleluja' ends on p. 55, and was originally followed by the chorus "The mighty Pow'r". New material was inserted between these two pieces, written on what is now p. 61-66. The end of the Alleluja was recopied on p. 61 to follow the existing p. 54 and the old ending on p. 55 crossed out.

Watermark: ?Bk

Rastrography: 10-stave @5 122.5

The paper characteristics are identical with those of the



48 RM 20.g.1, f.12-13, see supra

49 Doubts about the date of composition only arise because the paper characteristics of the autograph of movement 4B do not provide much help. Two other pieces of evidence support 1738 as the date of composition:

1. The occurrence of the movement in a volume from the Aylesford Collection (BL RM 19.a.1) in company with other music from the same period (overtures to Serse and Alessandro Severo);
2. The use of a chorale melody and chorale prelude type techniques. This seems to have been a feature of the music composed by Handel soon after his visit to the continent in 1737. (See Schering: Choral - most of his examples are from music composed 1737-9)

50 There is not enough evidence from the continuo part to determine whether the autograph or the conducting score of Athalia was used, but the latter is more likely. Some cue markings in the conducting score at the start of the 'Alleluja' (D-Hs MC/264, f.46) and an alteration to the viola part do not agree with the text given in the Fitzwilliam continuo part and must refer to some other use of the movement - possibly in the 1735 Athalia revival, when the movement preceding the Alleluja was altered.

51 The letter forms may conveniently be compared with those at the beginning of 'Behold and see' in the autograph of Messiah (RM 20.f.2, f.75, Chrysander facsimile, p. 145).

1738 insertion into the anthem autograph,<sup>48</sup> also in Smith's hand. Since the Continuo part must date from 1738, and the insertion into the autograph matches the continuo part, it seems certain that Handel composed movement 4B for the 1738 Oratorio.<sup>49</sup> It must have been a last-minute revision, after the word-book had been compiled (See Plate 3, supra).

The conducting score of Athalia, an accurate Smith copy, was probably the copying source for the additional 'Alleluja'.<sup>50</sup> The Athalia sources for the 'Alleluja' bar the music in 2/4 but the anthem version in the continuo part is barred in 4/4, following continuously from bar 40½ of No. 7.

Principal copy of the 1722 version of the Anthem -  
?Original Conducting Score

B.L. Add. MS. 31557, f.3-31, plus one unnumbered ruled sheet f.31a (6 Bin., 1 Tern.)

Formerly the property of Thomas Clarke and Julian Marshall. Bound with a copy of Anthem 6A in the hand of J.C. Smith Junior. The title page has already been described, and its implications examined.

Copyist: J.C. Smith senior, with one passage on f.25 (No. 6, bars 79-83 - see Plate 4) in Handel's hand. Handel probably also added 'Largo' at the start of No. 2 (f.8).<sup>51</sup> The other markings attributed to Handel by pencil notes in the score are in fact by Smith.

Watermark: B type, similar to the autograph of the anthem.

Rastrography: 12-stave @2 33.5, identical with the main body of the autograph.

The MS contains a number of 19th century annotations drawing attention to the revisions which are not included in the score

52 The inclusion of soloists' names was a feature of  
conducting scores: Smith did not add them to the  
manuscript scores copied for private collections.

and to points of comparison with Handel's other settings. Most, and possibly all, of these annotations are by Rophino Lacy. Smith copied throughout the names of the solo singers from the autograph.<sup>52</sup>

This score establishes unambiguously the original version of the anthem. The music text of this source is generally very accurate.

Some interest attaches to the interpretative marks which Smith added, apparently as part of the original copy.

No. 1: Heading 'Sinfonia' (not in autograph)

Speed: 'Larghetto', as added by Smith to the autograph.

Staccato dashes added to the crdchets in bar 1 et seq.;

compare the parallel movement from the Peace Anthem:

'Larghetto e staccato'.

No trills bar 2 et seq.

No. 2: Speed: Largo, in ?Handel's hand; as added by Smith to the autograph.

'Piano' and 'Forte' indications at bars 48-9 not

included. (?dynamics added to the autograph in 1738.)

No. 3: Speed: Larghetto, as Smith in autograph.

'Solo' and 'Tutti' indications added to opening instrumental parts (not in autograph)

'daly' instead of 'daily' (as in autograph)

No. 4: Heading "Accomp", as autograph.

'pour' from autograph miscopied as 'Powr'

No. 5: Speed: no indication. (?markings in the autograph, added in 1738).

"Praise of Thanksgiving" copied from autograph throughout.

No. 6: Speed: Larghetto, as given by Handel in the autograph and 'slow' later.

Violin part labelled "Violin solo" - autograph just has "V"



53 See Burrows: Oxford

No. 7: Speed: Andante, as given by Handel in the autograph.

The labels to the staves are copied exactly as in the autograph. Consequently this copy gives no assistance as to the interpretation of the pairs of unlabelled instrumental bass parts in Nos. 5 and 7.

The characteristic textual errors of this MS are not found in any of the secondary copies.

#### Other Manuscript Copies

- A Drc MS E26 (5) Fragmentary score (3 leaves) of Sinfonia and first chorus only. Goodson/Fawcett Collection

Copyist: S4

Watermark: ?Cc

The Sinfonia is in the single movement (1722) form and the score was copied c. 1735-8, probably for musicians in Oxford.<sup>53</sup> The end of the Sinfonia has a pencil cue by Richard Fawcett showing the 1738 addition.

See also MS H, infra.

- B B.L. Eg 2911 f.1-21v (Original pagination 1-42) Granville Collection

Copyist: S1

Watermark: C<sup>+</sup>f

Rastrography: 16-stave @2 30.5 (f.1-12)

22-stave @2 23.5 (f.13-21)

(c. 1740)

This score mixes the 1722 and 1738 versions, having one-movement Sinfonia and the original short ending to the last movement, but including the "Chorale" (1738) version of No. 4 in place of the original recitative. The instrumental bass line in No. 5 is labelled "Bassons": this may have been guesswork ("Double bass" or "Cello" would have been likely alternatives), or it may have been based on the arrangement

54 The Aylesford score itself would not have included the alternative movement. The variant movements were bound in separate volumes, and the Aylesford score of No. 4B is found in BL RM 19.a.1, f.148-150. This was the work of the same copyist as the parts for the anthem, S2. See also Note 49 supra.

55 Lenneberg and Libin: Chicago printed the 'short' ending in the report on the Chicago MSS. This appears to be the first publication of Handel's original ending.

of the scoring in 1738. The copyist interpreted Handel's labels "H" and "V" at the start of No. 6 as for solo oboe and violin. In most respects this copy is a faithful transcript of the autograph, preserving "In the voice of praise of thanksgiving" in No. 5, and including the dynamics at bars 48-9 of No. 2.

C US Cu MS 437, vols. 2, 3, 5, 7, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22.

Parts, presumably copied from a score not now extant.

Aylesford Collection

Copyist: S2

Watermark Ch

c. 1745-6

This source also gives the anthem in a hybrid form, reflecting the autograph of the anthem as it stood after 1738. The Sinfonia has the 1722 tonic ending, but this is then followed by the second movement of the Sinfonia from Anthem 6A transposed to D minor. Presumably S2, or the copyist of the lost Aylesford score, found Handel's pencil cue in the autograph and interpreted it after his own manner. The original version of No. 4 is given in the main text, but the later version is also included as an alternative. This follows the general policy of the Aylesford Collection, which was to include all of the music which was available to the copyist.<sup>54</sup> The last movement is in the 'short' form, without the Alleluja.<sup>55</sup> The dynamic marks at bars 48-9 of No. 2 are included, and No. 5 is rendered as 'In the voice of praise of thanksgiving' throughout.

The parts were presumably extracted from a score by the copyist according to the principles of the 1740's. In No. 6 he regarded the instrumental parts as 'tutti', thus



56 The Oboe.1 part is duplicated in Oboe 2, and the  
Violin 1 part in Violin 2.


taking the opposite line from the copyist of MS G: the "solo" music for oboe and violin appears in all of the parts.<sup>56</sup>

At bars 49-55 he even went further, and interpreted a blank stave in the autograph to mean that the violins should double the oboes. The two instrumental bass parts are labelled 'Organo & Contrabasso' and 'Violoncello & Bassone'. This arrangement is maintained throughout, the second part even including music which Handel specifically designated for Contrabass in No. 2. The copyist may have made a mistake in this particular movement but his general testimony on the allocation of the bass instruments, when a full complement was available, is revealing. The suggestion that it was the Double Bass, rather than the 'Cello, which had to share a part by looking over the continuo keyboard player's shoulder makes practical sense. These parts also reveal how a copyist interpreted Handel's "solo" and "tutti" directions against the bass line of No. 3.

#### A note concerning Copies D - H

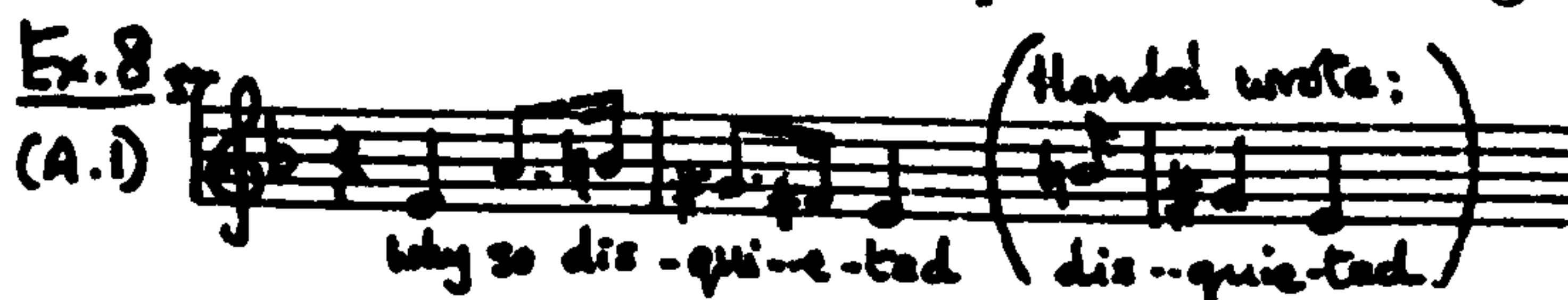
These copies differ substantially from those described above and all of them include a large number of identical textual deviations which point to a common origin, presumably a score which is no longer extant. Here is a select list of readings characteristic of this group of sources:

No.2: Bar 38, oboe: last note a :

Bar 54, violin 2: rhythm beats 1 & 2 thus: 

No.5: Final bars: violin 2 identical with oboe

No.6: Additional note added to fill in the interval of a third for the word "disquieted" throughout, thus:



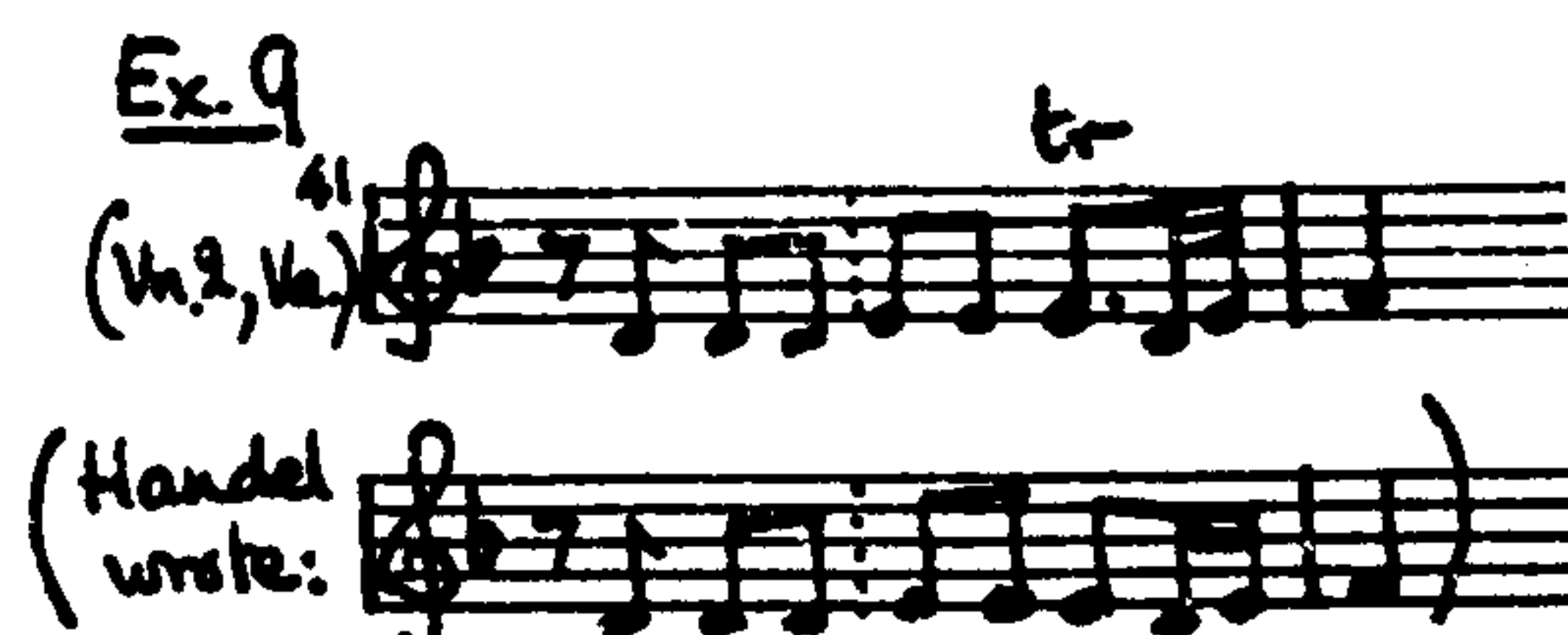
- 57 Curiously, this form of the counter-subject also appears, in Handel's autograph, among a miscellaneous collection of sketches in the Fitzwilliam Collection (Cfm MS 260, p. 67). This sketch seems to have nothing to do with the composition of the anthem or of Athalia; it may have been part of a collection of exercise material in imitative techniques.
- 58 HG xxxiv, p. 273, bars 3-4
- 59 The provenance of MS D suggests that this editing may have been the work of J.C. Smith junior.
- 60 See Clausen: Direktionspartituren, p. 143-144. This score replaced the conducting score MC/261, which was marked up for Handel's performances up to 1757. Smith did not revive Esther until 1767-8, so MC/261a was probably copied in 1767.

Bars 49-51: new oboe part (sustained a'') added.

Bar 92: viola a third too high.

No.7: Bar 40: The main movement is joined up to the 'Alleluja' correctly but an Athalia-derived chord is inserted on beat 3, where the Fitzwilliam part has a crotchet rest.

Bar 41: Violin 2 and Viola have a rhythmic variant, in this bar only<sup>57</sup> - see Ex. 9



Bar 41-end: Barred in 2/4. Word underlay very defective.

Bar 70: Violin parts reversed: this error probably caused by adapting from a score where the oboes were on the top stave to one where violins were at the top.<sup>58</sup>

Apart from having an intrinsically corrupt text, the lost source may have been 'edited' according to the taste of the 1760's.<sup>59</sup> Some mystery attaches to the form in which the Sinfonia was presented: copies in the D - H group have two different versions.

D D - Hs MS MC/261a, Vol. II, f. 8-11

Copyist: S5

Watermark: Cu

This MS is part of the second conducting score of Esther, prepared for performances given under the direction of J.C. Smith junior and John Stanley in the 1760's.<sup>60</sup> The



61 See HG xli, p. viii and p. 64;  
also Dean: Oratorios, p. 218

62 Frasi and Guarducci. Singers' names added in  
pencil, probably by J.C. Smith junior.

63 The scribe was one of the three whose work appears  
in the Hayes Collection copy of Anthem 6C.  
See Chapter 3, MS Copy C.

word-book published in connection with these performances claimed that Esther included "The last improvements by Mr. Handel". This statement need not be taken too seriously: it is much more likely that Smith himself was responsible for the arrangement of the score. The Cannons version of As Pants the Hart (6A) was introduced into Part 2 after Esther's aria 'Tears, assist me'.<sup>61</sup> After the conducting score had been prepared, the first chorus of Anthem 6B, transposed to E minor, was inserted to replace the Cannons version. The alteration was probably made in 1767-8: the insertion has the same watermark as the rest of the score and the 6B movement carries the names of singers from these years.<sup>62</sup> The music text of the chorus is of no independent interest.

E D - Hs MS.MA/177. (Vol. VI of Hayes Collection.)  
 Copyist: ?Oxford scribe.<sup>63</sup>

See Clausen: Direktionspartituren p. 271  
 c. 1765-1770

The index page to the volume, possibly written by the copyist or by John Awbrey, describes the anthem thus: 'As Pants the Hart - 6 Voc with Instruments'.

The MS has the 1722 version of the Sinfonia (1 movement, tonic ending) but the 1738 version of No. 4 and the 1738 'Alleluja' ending to the last movement. The Sinfonia is compressed onto 5 staves, giving a false reading of the 'cello part at bar 24: there are also errors in the distribution of material between the violin parts in bars 8-10.

This copy was heavily annotated by Chrysander, for use as the printer's text for HG xxxiv.

64 It may be in the hand of copyist S10.

65 Burney: Commemoration, Sketch, p. 45

: 66 See MS D, supra.

F B.L. RM 19.g.1, Vol.1, f.1-29v (original pagination 1-56)  
 Smith Collection, c.1770  
 Copyist: S11  
 Watermark: F

This MS has the 1738 version of No. 4 and the concluding 'Alleluja' to the last movement. Instead of the 6B Sinfonia, the anthem begins with the first two movements of the Sinfonia to Anthem 6A, transposed to D minor. This mistake presumably originated in a confused interpretation of Handel's pencil cues in the autograph of 6B.

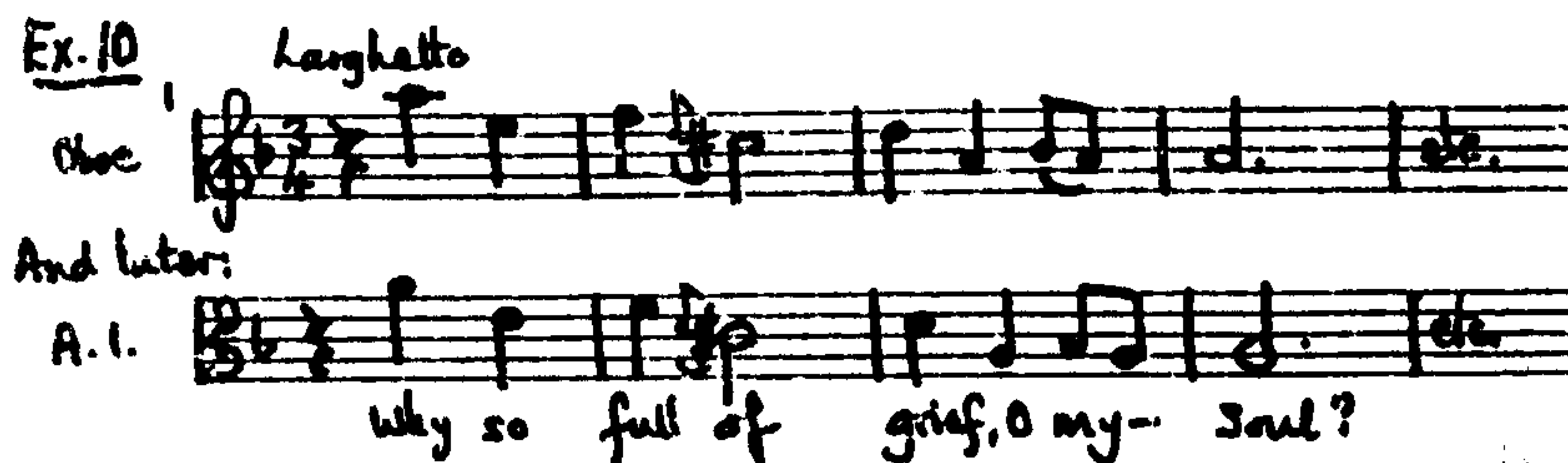
G US - NBu M2038.H14A5, Vol.6(1), p.1-99. Wynn Collection.  
 Copyist: Picker 'A'  
 c. 1770

The index to the volume, which was not written by the music copyist,<sup>64</sup> describes the anthem thus: 'As Pants the Hart/ with several alterations and Additions by/Mr. Handel, when he introduced it, in the /Oratorio of Esther'. This description is repeated by Burney in his list of music in the Wynn Collection.<sup>65</sup> The Esther performances referred to are those from 1767-8.<sup>66</sup> It is very doubtful that the version of Esther performed in the 1760's and the version of Anthem 6B found in this MS carry the weight of any authority from the composer.

The version of the anthem found in this MS is virtually identical with that in MS F, though details of textual deviations preclude the possibility that either could have been copied from the other. Some additional ornamentation is found in No. 6: the opening phrase is given appoggiaturas at each appearance. (Ex. 10 overleaf)



67 See Burrows: Oxford



H Parts from the Goodson/Fawcett Collection:<sup>67</sup>

Occ MS 69: Canto, in the hand of Richard Goodson  
junior (d. 1741)

Occ MS 72: Tenor, jointly in the hands of Goodson and  
Richard Fawcett

Occ MS E26: Violino Primo Concertino, in the hand of  
Fawcett.

These parts should be connected in some way with MS A, which was also part of Fawcett's collection. A difficulty arises because MS A is part of a score of the 1722 version of the Anthem, while these parts have the 1738 version.

The three parts fall into two groups. The first two have generally accurate texts, probably derived from the MS A score supplemented by additional sources giving the 1738 revisions. These parts must have been copied 1738-1741: Oxford musicians appear to have been able to obtain the 1738 material almost immediately.

Fawcett's violin part must date from a later period, because it includes corrupt readings in the 1738 movements, at bar 70 of the 'Alleluja', for example. It is of interest that Fawcett, presumably lacking an oboe player, 'cooked' the solo oboe part at bars 24-32 of the Sinfonia by writing it into the violin part. This idea must surely have been suggested by the scoring of the parallel movement in 6A at

68. A full listing and description of these part-books and their contents will appear in Brian Crosby's forthcoming catalogue of the Durham MSS.

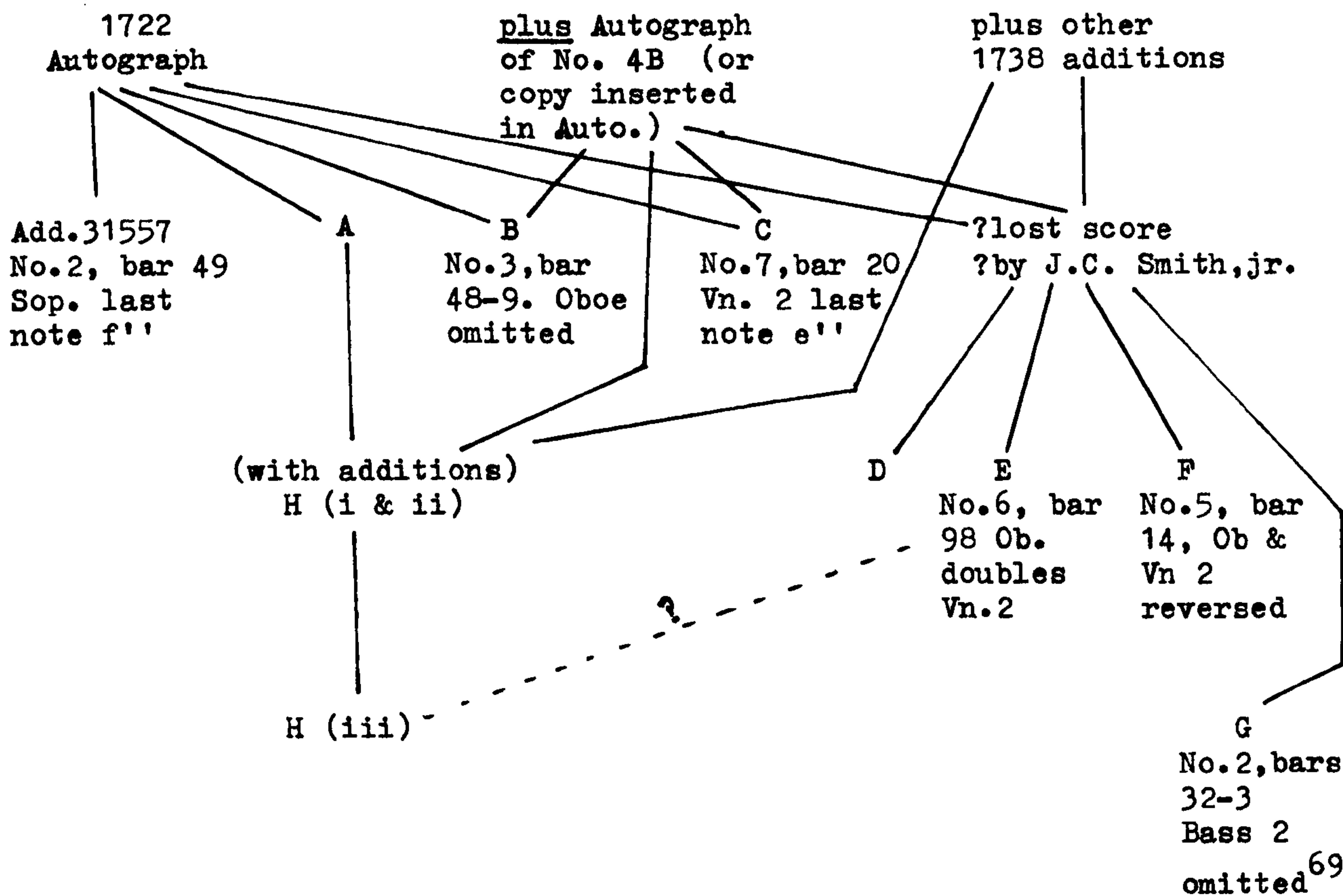
69 The identical passage is also omitted from the copy of a different setting of the anthem in the Wynn Collection: see Chapter 3, Anthem 6C, MS Copy B.

this point. Fawcett also added 6A-derived trills at bar 2 (and similar places) in the Sinfonia.

### Other copies

Eighteenth-century choir part-books at Durham Cathedral contain a version of Anthem 6B including some 1738 additions, transposed to C minor and with the orchestral parts arranged for organ.<sup>68</sup> The music text of this source is of no special interest but there is significant evidence that the Durham musicians, like those at Oxford, appear to have been able to acquire this music very soon after Handel's 1738 performance. The dates of payments to copyists are recorded in the part-books and, on the evidence of these, 6B had appeared in some parts (e.g. MS B 26) before Michaelmas 1738.

### Relationship of Copies





70 Bourne's copy of HG xxxiv (now Ob Mus.1.c.194)  
was marked up by him in preparation for a printed  
edition. He was apparently intending to produce  
a practical edition based on Chrysander's text,  
with the Allegro from the sinfonia to 6A inserted  
between Nos. 1 and 2.

Printed Edition

The first published edition was Chrysander's in HG xxxiv (1871). As already noted, Chrysander used MS E for his printer's text. His edition was accordingly a hybrid, with the 1722 Sinfonia, but 4B from 1738 and the concluding 1738 'Alleluja'. His edition preserved most of the corrupt readings of the D - H group of MSS. It is difficult to discern any editorial principles behind Chrysander's text. He knew what the autograph contained: he refers to the names of the soloists in the preface to the volume, and he marked up the Hamburg MS with Handel's revised ending to the Sinfonia and the accompanying cue for the extra movement. Yet he neither printed the variants nor referred to them in his preface.

T.W. Bourne prepared an edition of the anthem for publication in 1900,<sup>70</sup> but I have found no evidence that it was ever published.

CHAPTER NINE  
THE REMAINING MUSIC FROM THE  
SECOND CHAPEL ROYAL PERIOD, 1722-1726

	page
Revival of the <u>Caroline</u> Te Deum	322
Anthem 5B,	325
Autograph	342
Manuscript Copies	344
Te Deum in A Major	350
Autograph	361
Manuscript Copies	364
Anthem 11B	373
Autograph	382
Manuscript Copies	385
Printed editions	390

1      See Chapter 6, Table 8, supra



THE REMAINING MUSIC FROM  
THE SECOND CHAPEL ROYAL PERIOD,  
1722 - 1726

Revival of the 'Caroline' Te Deum

The evidence for a revival of the Caroline Te Deum in the 1720's has already been reviewed in Chapter 5. It remains only to point out some features of this revival and to examine the musical construction of the new setting of 'Vouchsafe, O Lord'.

The artistic weight of the work in this revival fell heavily on to the Alto soloist Francis Hughes, who must have taken on all of the music originally composed for Elford in addition to his own previous music. The new movement was also composed for him. Gates took over the Bass solo in No. 2. No singer is named against the solo Tenor part at the opening of No. 1, but we may guess that the Alto/Tenor/Bass line-up was Hughes/Gethin/Wheely. Kytch was paid for playing the oboe. He may have played the obligato parts in Nos. 3 and 5 on the oboe or the flute. In the absence of trumpets, he would have played the 1st trumpet part on the oboe in Nos. 1, 4 and 6, and he probably also doubled the Violin 1 part in No. 2.

No. 5B: Vouchsafe, O Lord

The immediate ancestor of this movement is Handel's setting of the same text from the Chandos Te Deum, which was in itself indebted to the parallel movement from the Utrecht Te Deum.<sup>1</sup> Unlike these two versions, the new movement is a continuous solo aria. In the Utrecht and Chandos settings the solo music (verses 26-27 of the canticle) took up about two thirds of the movement, ending in the dominant key and introducing a chorus entry (Verse

2 At bars 14 and 22, respectively.

3 The Chandos version was for Tenor soloist,  
in G minor.

28) which returned the music to the tonic. In this setting the proportions of the movement are about the same, though verse 28 receives slightly shorter measure, but there is no chorus entry and the dominant cadence is avoided. Indeed, Handel avoids strong cadences throughout the movement. There are clear cadences in the relative major and the subdominant,<sup>2</sup> but the melodic line is carried over them in both cases. The whole movement could be taken as a model for Handel's mature cadence treatment: there are many and frequent cadences on paper but the musical impetus is maintained beyond them to keep the movement flowing along right up to the end.

The movement is in the same key (B minor) as that in the Utrecht setting. This key suited the range of the Alto soloist and provided a suitable contrast to the overall D major tonic. The re-composition of music from the Chandos setting<sup>3</sup> follows a pattern already observed with some of the Chandos Anthem revisions in Chapter 6: Handel based the first part of the movement on his previous working, but re-composed the second part afresh. (See Table 1).

The movement's three-strand scoring for strings and Flute obbligato/Voice/Bass is inspired by the Chandos version, though in this case Handel seems to have regarded the Flute as contributing to a 'synthetic' Flute/Strings tone colour rather than as a solo instrument. Most of the independent flute notes are merely conveniences of scoring to avoid lower notes which were only available to the violins, though the contrast of registers is put to good effect momentarily in bars 4-5.

Chapter 9 Table 1'Caroline' Te Deum, No. 5BDerivation of music from 'Chandos' Te Deum

<u>'Caroline'</u>	<u>'Chandos'</u>	
<u>Te Deum</u>	<u>Te Deum</u>	<u>Commentary</u>
(Bar Nos.)	(Bar Nos.)	
1 - 2½		Motifs from <u>Utrecht</u> and <u>Chandos</u> settings. Bass part closer to <u>Utrecht</u> than <u>Chandos</u> .
2½-8½	4 -10	Follows <u>Chandos</u> setting closely, except for bass part at end of bar 5.
8½-9½		New bar, replacing 2½ bars of <u>Chandos</u> Te Deum (bars 10-12½)
9½-12, beat 1	12½-15, beat 1	
12-15	17-20	<u>Chandos</u> bars 15-16 cut.
16-18	22-25½	½ bar cut from <u>Chandos</u> bar 24.
18-25		Newly composed, though using motifs from previous versions. Otherwise not compar- able, except in use of a Dominant Pedal ( <u>Chandos</u> bars 34-5, <u>Caroline</u> bars 23-24)
26-28		Closing ritornello derived from opening ritornello of new setting.



4 In this respect comparison may be made with Handel's conversion of the Chapel Royal version of O sing unto the Lord into Chandos Anthem 4: see Chapter-6.

It is interesting that this Chandos Anthem is

itself 'paired' with the Cannons version of As pants the Hart.

5 Psalms 95, 96, 97, 99, and 103. By contrast, the Chandos original of I will magnifie Thee (Anthem 5A) is based completely on Psalm 145, with the exception of the movement 'Happy are the people' from Psalm 144. This aria might not, in any case, have been part of Handel's original plan for the Chandos Anthem: see Beeks: Extra Movements.

Anthem 5B: I will magnifie Thee O God my King

Handel's procedure in this anthem is in marked contrast to that adopted for As Pants the Hart. Whereas the outline of Anthem 6 remained constant throughout the various revisions and its literary text was maintained as an integral construction, I will magnifie Thee was completely reconstructed. Only the outer framework of the Cannons anthem was retained.<sup>4</sup> The void between was not filled with original material, but with re-arranged or re-composed movements selected from other anthems: Handel drew on three other Chandos Anthems to provide four movements (See Table 2). He was, perhaps, influenced by the fact that one of these anthems, No. 8, was in the same key as the Cannons version of I will magnifie Thee. The text of Chandos Anthem 8 is composed of verses selected from a number of different psalms.<sup>5</sup> The verses which Handel extracted for use in Anthem 5B came from Psalm 96, and in their new context, they were re-united with another verse from the same psalm set to music derived from a totally different anthem. This may have been fortuitous, or perhaps it points up the similarity between the tone of Psalm 96 and that of Psalm 145 which provided the outer movements of Anthem 5B.

There is certainly nothing haphazard about the artistic construction of the anthem as a whole. The key scheme, although rather tonic-orientated, is sufficiently varied and contrasts of speed and metre are satisfyingly balanced. The first four movements of the anthem belong together musically: the end of one movement naturally 'sets up' the beginning of the next. The material from which each of the six movements is derived was first-rate: we might almost suspect that Handel was putting together his own favourite movements. The choice must surely

6 For example, Weldon's O give thanks unto the Lord  
and Croft's Sing unto the Lord (Texts printed in  
Divine Harmony, p. 59 and 69)

have been Handel's own: it is not likely that the Sub-Dean of the Chapel accidentally supplied Handel with a text which happened to be made up entirely of passages from the psalms which the composer had set before. Nevertheless, the construction of an anthem text from diverse sources was not foreign to the official mind: as noted in Chapter 2, the passages to be used in loco Venite in the earlier Thanksgiving Services are testimony to the literary ingenuity of highly-placed ecclesiastics, and some of the anthems composed for these services also have texts selected from several psalms.<sup>6</sup>

Regardless of musical considerations, Handel's text in Anthem 5B is worthy of attention in itself. It has a flow and a shape which could hardly have been bettered by a literary theologian: indeed, it is of better quality than much of the material given to Handel by his librettists for the London oratorios. The ideas in the text form an arch pattern: movement 4, the central climax, is surrounded symmetrically by Nos. 3 and 5, and by Nos. 1-2 and 6. The subjects of the movements are:

Nos. 1 and 2: Call to praise (No. 1) and worship (No. 2)

No. 3: Four attributes of the Almighty, in pairs

(Glory & Worship/Power & Honour)

No. 4: The faithful are enjoined to tell the heathen about the power of the Almighty.

No. 5: Four attributes of the Almighty, in pairs

(Righteousness & Equity/Mercy & Truth)

No. 6: Praise and Thanksgiving. Expressed, like No. 1, in the first person.

It will be seen that, within the general intention of a laudatory text, the emphasis is subtly varied from movement to movement.

Handel's music is ideally matched to the structure. There



Chapter 9 Table 2

Anthem 5B:

Derivation of movements from previous anthems

		<u>Text</u>	<u>Key</u>	<u>Source</u>	<u>Key of Source</u>
No.1	I will magnifie thee	Ps. 145 v.1	A major	Anthem 5A No.1	A major
No.2	O worship the Lord	Ps. 96 v.9	A major	Anthem 4 No.5	B flat major
No.3	Glory and worship <sup>1</sup>	Ps. 96 v.6	D major	Anthem 8 No.4	D major
No.4	Tell it out	Ps. 96 v.10	A major	Anthem 8 No.5	A major
No.5	Righteousness and equity	Ps. 89 v.15	F sharp minor	Anthem 7 No.6	D major
No.6	My mouth shall speak	Ps. 145 v.21	A major	Anthem 5A No.8	A major

Notes:

1. · Handel had also previously set this text, to different music, in Anthem 4A (No. 4, Bass solo in G major)

7. There is a striking parallel here with the Wedding Anthems composed by Handel a decade later. The 1734 Wedding Anthem, greatly indebted to music from Athalia, is an artistic success: by contrast, the more original 1736 Wedding Anthem is a halting affair lacking an overall sense of shape and progression.

is a cumulative plan in the first half of the anthem. The opening solo movement with its first-person text leads into a duet for the invitation to 'worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness'; the process continues in No. 3, with its arrangement for 7 voice parts, but this is deliberately less powerful in effect than No. 4, where the chorus voices come together to assert that the Lord is King, and that 'He made the world so fast it cannot be moved'. The divine attributes of justice and mercy demand the quieter, more serious, treatment which Handel provides in No. 4; in the last movement the chorus voices support the soloists' 'let all flesh give thanks' with cries of 'Amen'. The transferred music, particularly Nos. 3 and 4, is at least as effective in its new context as it was in the original Anthems. Handel's composition of the new picture from material supplied by previous anthems gives us an insight both into the nature of his genius and into the quality of his literary discrimination. The anthem is one of the best in the canon of Handel's Anglican church music.<sup>7</sup>

Every movement of the anthem was subjected to a different type of revision in the process of adaptation. The techniques used include re-arrangement to suit different forces, the simple reduction of lengthy movements by cutting, detailed re-composition and improvement of individual passages, and the composition of completely new movements from thematic material supplied by earlier versions. More clearly than usual, the anthem demonstrates one of the anomalies of Handel's compositional processes: the amount of work involved was surely greater than that which would have resulted from beginning the composition again from scratch.

#### No. 1: I will magnifie Thee

In the Cannons version of the anthem, Handel had set the

8 Comparison may be made with the 1749 Peace Anthem, where Handel discarded his original idea for the first movement 'How beautiful are the feet', but used this material for the third movement instead. See Burrows: Peace Anthem.

9 The sources for the ritornello are:

Anthem 5B

Anthem 5A

Bars 1-5½

Bars 1-5½

Bars 5½-7½ (new)

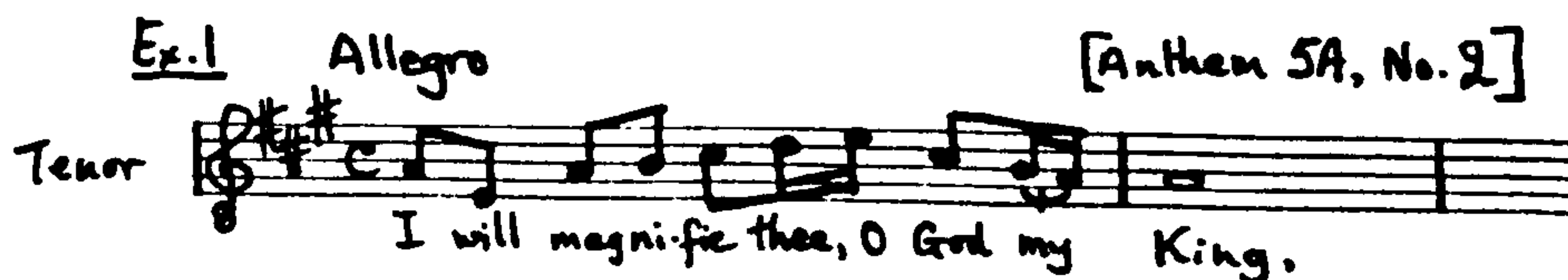
Bars 7½-10½

Bars 19½-22½

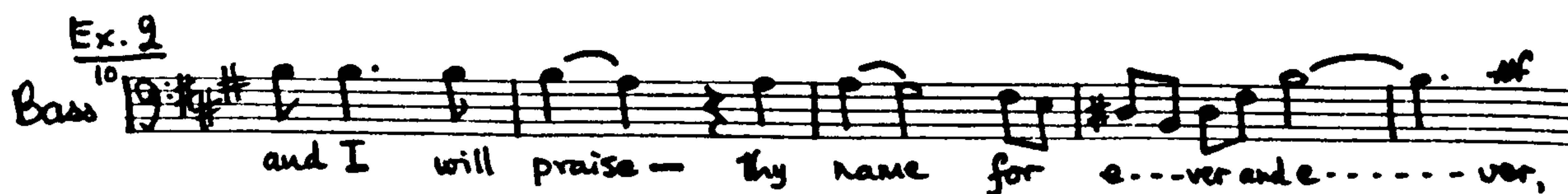
Bars 10½-11½ (new tonic cadence)



text as a chorus movement beginning with a subject derived from the opening of his Latin psalm Dixit Dominus. (Ex.1.).



This conveys an atmosphere of rejoicing but was perhaps rather brash for this particular text. It contrasted with a more cantabile theme for the second half of the verse (Ex. 2).



For the Chapel Royal setting Handel rejected this material completely, and instead composed a movement for solo Alto using music derived from the opening orchestral sinfonia movement of the Chandos Anthem. It is possible that Handel began the Chapel Royal anthem by re-composing the Sinfonia as an introductory orchestral movement, and that it was only while he was at work on this that the idea of adapting the music for the first verse struck him.<sup>8</sup> We may question whether he even intended Anthem 5B to begin with a separate instrumental Sinfonia. His previous Chapel Royal works, with the single exception of Anthem 6B, lack independent introductions, while his Chandos anthems, with the single exception of Anthem 9, always include them. The re-working of the Chandos Sinfonia into the first movement of Anthem 5B may well have been Handel's plan from the beginning.

The opening and closing bars of the Cannons Sinfonia movement, with a little revision, generated the 10½-bar instrumental introduction.<sup>9</sup> This presents three melodic ideas. The first, a 1½-

10 It is an elaboration of a melodic/harmonic formula which occurs in Corelli's music at the opening of the Trio Sonatas Op. 4 No. 3 and Op. 3 No. 2. The latter is a particularly interesting 'generator' which demands quotation because it seems to have been in Handel's mind also as a source for the last movement of the Utrecht Te Deum (Ex. 14):

Ex. 14 Grave [Corelli, Op. 3 No. 2]

Vn. 1

Vn. 2

B.c.

This should be compared with Chapter 6, Music Example 7.

bar theme, is built over an ostinato bass (Ex. 3).

Ex. 3

Andante

Oboe

B.c.

tr

[6.]

[Anthem 5B]

The violin theme in these bars is never given to the voice (it is hardly a very characteristic vocal melody in any case), but it functions in the manner of a Concerto Grosso ritornello theme,<sup>10</sup> appearing in the tonic at bar 12½ and re-appearing to mark the movement's central cadence in the dominant at bar 23½. The ostinato bass, however, extends and develops to carry the construction of the whole movement. The first entry of the soloist is accompanied by a 2-bar version of the bass (Ex. 4).

Ex. 4

Alto

B.c.

12

[Orchestra]

I — will mag — ni — fic Thee O God — my King,

The other two, more fragmentary, themes derived from the Chandos sinfonia are put to good use in the voice part (Ex. 5).

Ex. 5

20

32

[Orch.]

[Alto]

[Compare Anthem 5A, bar 4]

and I will praise

[Compare Anthem 5A, bars 19-21]

[Alto]

and I will praise — Thy name — for e ..... ver and e .....

All of the music of the main part of the movement grows from



these three ideas, newly developed. The binary structure allows three statements of the text, and it is instructive to compare Handel's treatment of the opening words at the repetitions. He does not repeat the broad opening melody (Ex. 4 above) at the later entries. The central entry in the dominant compresses the rhythm of the opening but preserves the shape of the consequent phrase; the third entry, occurring when the music is poised ambiguously between the dominant key and a return to the tonic, tightens up the second phrase as well and introduces a sense of urgency in the overlapping orchestral answer (Ex. 6).

Ex. 6

Alt. *I will mag-ni-fie- Thee O God my King,*

B.c.

Orch.

Alto *I will mag-ni-fie Thee, I will mag-ni-fie Thee, O God my King,*

B.c.

The movement develops greater activity at each repetition: the more leisurely ritornello theme, Ex. 3, is crowded out as the musical sinews tighten. A certain amount of relaxation is provided by the coda, from bar 43 onwards, which develops a semi-quaver motif derived from bar 26 in the string parts. The coda modulates once again to end in the dominant, preparing the way for the next movement. The idea of this may have come from the Chandos Anthem Sinfonia, which also ended in the dominant. Even so, the sureness of pacing in this particular passage is remark-



- 11 If, as I consider likely, Chapel Royal pitch was about a semitone above 'Cannons' pitch, the real difference would have been closer to a tone. See Supplement, Conditions of Performance, sub 'Pitch'.

able: no composer of the classical period used the dominant key with a riner sense that it was building up to introduce something important in the tonic. The second movement follows naturally from this, following immediately without an intrusive ritornello.

No. 2: O worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness.

This was derived from Chandos Anthem 4, No. 5. The Chandos movement was subjected to transposition, re-arrangement, a limited amount of detailed re-composition and some cutting. Transposition was necessary to suit the tonality of the new anthem. Downwards transposition by a semitone was not sufficient in itself to turn a treble/tenor duet into an alto/bass one;<sup>11</sup> Handel overcame this problem ingeniously by exchanging the parts. The former tenor part became the new alto part, and the former treble part was transposed down a ninth for bass. Fortunately, Handel's original counterpoint in the vocal parts was invertible, and the bass voice part after transposition still remained safely above the independent instrumental bass. By re-arranging the parts in this way Handel was able to introduce some variety at the beginning: the bass voice provides a welcome contrast which rather enhances the effect of the subsequent re-entry of the alto.

Table 3 shows the derivation of the music from Chandos Anthem 4. Most of the revisions are minor improvements, but the two substantial cuts call for further comment. These are not merely aimed at shortening the movement: they follow a definite plan in cutting out redundant matter. The tied-note figure first heard in bars 6-7 makes its maximum effect if it is not over-played and Handel's cuts fall mainly on passages devoted to it. This includes the lengthy coda to the Chandos movement (bars 65-81) which was rather out of proportion with the rest of the movement in any

Chapter 9 Table 3

Anthem 5B: Adaptation of duet

'O worship the Lord'

from Chandos Anthem 4, No. 5

<u>Anthem 5B</u>	<u>Anthem 4</u>	<u>Commentary</u>
(Bar Nos.)	(Bar Nos.)	
1-22	1-22	
23-42	28-47	Anthem 4 bars 23-27 cut.  Some re-harmonisation and  minor amendments.
43-46	50-53	Re-composed in course of adaptation.
46-57	53-65	Anthem 4 bar 57 removed, and  consequent re-composition.
57-60		Anthem 4 bars 65-81 cut.  Newly composed beginning to  instrumental postlude.
61-63	82-84	

case and was redundant harmonically because the main business of the movement finished at the perfect cadence at 64-5. Handel's judgement in removing this coda was surely right.

No. 3: Glory and Worship are before Him

The Chandos Anthem from which this movement was adapted was one of the later ones employing a four-part chorus. For the Chapel Royal Handel expanded the layout to a seven-voice arrangement, using solo voices in conjunction with the 'Ripieno' chorus. He did not divide the Treble part, which was presumably sung by all of the trebles. In the Alto, Tenor and Bass parts three named soloists (Hughes, Gethin, Wheely) were picked out from the rest. It is unlikely that the 'rest' numbered more than 2 or 3 to a part, and the solo parts are not particularly independent or demanding, with the exception of the odd bar or two of Hughes' part. Handel's object in this movement was to gain a richer sonority, using the seven parts to fill out the chordal outbursts on "Glory, Worship, Power" and to provide various combinations of solo and ripieno voices. In some passages the soloists seem to act as 'bumpers' to the next highest voice. Assuming that the choir sat divided in the choir stalls, Handel's idea in doing this might have been connected with balancing the two sides; in bars 25-6, for example, this might explain the coupling of solo Bass/ripieno Tenor and solo Tenor/ripieno Alto. The overall aim of the arrangement is clear enough: Handel was seeking the richest effect from his Chapel Royal resources, sonority rather than volume.

The vocal re-arrangement from four parts to seven and the addition of a viola part to the orchestral texture were straightforward tasks which call for no particular comment. There are some significant revisions to musical content. Handel added a



12 Comparable to bars 40½-44 of the Chandos Anthem movement.

13 .Abraham: Handel, p. 171, in the context of a description of the original movement from Chandos Anthem 8. Unfortunately his quotation of the theme in Ex. 52 contains an error in the word underlay at bar 4 which removes one of its most Purcellian features.

two-bar instrumental introduction. This was an aesthetic choice, not demanded by technical necessity: the key-sequence in the Chapel Royal version is easier than in the Chandos Anthem, and the singers needed no special help to focus the first notes. The addition of the introductory bars gives some weight to the first chorus entry: it also makes the canon between bass and treble in the first two bars a little more explicit. Within the body of the movement Handel made a 4-bar cut (bars 28½-32½ of the Chandos version) which removes the emphasis on the dominant key at this point, accelerating the return to the tonic and the opening thematic material.

At bars 24-5 Handel added half a bar at the approach to the cadence, making this rather broader and incidentally improving the verbal stress at the same time (Ex. 7 overleaf). He similarly recomposed the final choral cadence of the movement (bars 39-42<sup>12</sup>), broadening the approach, adding a momentary touch of the subdominant key, and improving the vocal lines. Throughout the movement Handel took some care to improve the shape of the instrumental bass part, in particular replacing repeated-note figures of Example 7a by something a little more varied. The final instrumental ritornello is shorter than its predecessor, providing a more direct link to the next movement, which begins (like its parent movement in the Chandos Anthem) without an instrumental introduction. Handel obviously regarded Nos. 3 and 4 as a co-ordinate pair, comparable to a keyboard prelude and fugue, and transferred them from the Chandos Anthem as a unit.

#### No. 4: Tell it out among the heathen

As Basil Lam has pointed out,<sup>13</sup> Handel's setting of this text is particularly striking: the rhythms and melodic shapes of

14 It may be that Handel was deliberately imitating Purcellian models here. It is doubtful that Handel regarded the rhythm of bar 4 as an archaism characteristic only of English church music, however: he uses this triple-time pattern in his oratorio-type works. In 'Bacchus' blessings are a treasure' from Alexander's Feast Handel may even have intended this device to reflect a state of inebriation.

## Ex. 7

## [Chandos Anthem 8, No. 4]

②

S. 21  
Po-wer and Ho-nour are in His Sanctu-a-ry,

T.1. 22  
Po-wer and Ho-nour are in His Sanctu-a-ry,

T.2. 22  
Po-wer and Ho-nour are in His Sanctu-a-ry,

B. 22  
Po-wer and Ho-nour are in His Sanctu-a-ry,

B.c. 22  
Po-wer and Ho-nour are in His Sanctu-a-ry,

The upper orchestral parts are omitted from both examples.

③

S. 23  
Power and Honour are in His Sanctu-a-ry,

A. 24  
Power and Honour are in His Sanctu-a-ry,

T. SOLO 24  
Power and Honour are in His Sanctu-a-ry,

B. 24  
Power and Honour are in His Sanctu-a-ry,

A. RIPIENO 24  
Power and Honour are in His Sanctu-a-ry,

T. RIPIENO 24  
Power and Honour are in His Sanctu-a-ry,

B. 24  
Power and Honour are in His Sanctu-a-ry,

B.c. 24  
Power and Honour are in His Sanctu-a-ry,

the opening theme provide a lively and appropriately forceful treatment of the words in the best Purcellian manner.<sup>14</sup> Handel begins the movement with his principal soloists and there is a fine cumulative build-up, solo→orchestra→duet→chorus. The idea is in part derived from the Chandos Anthem original, which begins



- 15 British Library RM 20.g.14, f.51, commencing stave 3.  
It appears to be a sketch for a keyboard piece or contrapuntal exercise: the version of the theme cannot have been intended for the words of the anthem, since it omits the cadence-theme carrying the words 'that the Lord is King'. Paper characteristics, in particular the 91.5mm 5-stave rastra, give a date no earlier than 1749 for this page.
- 16 Compare the replacement of 'flee' with 'fly' in the first movement of Anthem 11B, noted later in this chapter.
- 17 This revision introduced a hemiola harmonic rhythm into the orchestral parts against a 'straight' triple-time entry in the voices.
- 18 . In this case the hemiola implications of the Chandos Anthem version were removed, the declamation was improved and the passage as a whole was made more direct in expression.

with a tenor solo of some length. The Chandos Anthem movement had one major defect: it was too long, even given the more leisurely circumstances at Cannons, and its 150 bars of continuous 4-part choral writing hold a diminishing interest for the listener. This is a pity, because the material of the movement's second section, to the text 'and that he made the world so fast', is excellent and its subsequent combination with the opening subject is effective. Handel reduced the first section by 41 bars, but curtailed the remainder less drastically: either he became less conscientious about working out the cuts as he went along or, more likely, he found that the second half could not be reduced without serious musical losses. The revisions are described in Table 4. The movement as a whole is greatly improved by the reduction in length: in context, it is still a longish movement.

The opening theme itself is greatly improved by the 2-bar cut after bar 15, which tightens up a rather flabby melodic continuation. An even more compressed form of the theme appears among Handel's fragmentary sketches, but this was written long after the Chapel Royal anthem and therefore has no direct relevance to the composition of the anthem movement.<sup>15</sup> The three versions of the theme are given in Ex. 8 (overleaf). The movement's second theme also received an interesting alteration. Since composing the Chandos Anthem, Handel seems to have discovered that 'can't' was not good form:<sup>16</sup> the subjects beginning at bar 72 are amended to give "it can not be moved". As in the previous movement Handel re-composes important cadences at bars 34-5<sup>17</sup> and at the end.<sup>18</sup> The single extended climax over the dominant pedal at the end is a great improvement on the previous double-take. The strength of the final assertion leaves no room for the orchestral postlude from the Chandos original, which is omitted in the Chapel Royal version.



Fix

③ Chorus Anthem  
Tell it, tell it, tell it, tell it,  
that the Lord is — King,

④ Anthem SB  
Tell it, tell it, tell it, tell it,  
that the Lord is — King.

⑤ Sketch RM 20 yds.  
Tell it, tell it, tell it, tell it,  
that the Lord is — King.

**(A)**

Tell it out among the hea--then, tell it out among the hea--

**(B)**

Tell it out among the hea--then, tell it out among the hea--

**(C)**

Tell it out among the hea--then, tell it out among the hea--

12 then, that He-Lord is King

16 then, that He-Lord is King

19 then, that He-Lord is King

## Notes

All three sources are in A major.  
Original clefs: (a) Tenor; (b) Bass;  
(c) Two staves, Soprano and Bass.



Chapter 9 Table 4Anthem 5B: Adaptation of Chorus'Tell it out among the heathen'from Chandos Anthem 8, No. 5

<u>Anthem 5B</u>	<u>Anthem 8</u>	<u>Commentary</u>
(Bar Nos.)	(Bar Nos.)	
1-49	1-51	2 bars cut (Anthem 8, bars 16½-18½) Entries of 3rd and 4th voices from Anthem 8 (Bars 42-43) removed, preserving duet texture.
50-52	68-70	Anthem 5B bars 50-51 also owe something to Anthem 8, bars 61-62.
53-54	-	Bar 54 possibly suggested by Anthem 8 bar 79. These two bars replace Anthem 8 bars 71-95, an extensive passage with modulations to E major and F sharp minor.
55-63	96-104	
64-137	112-185	(Anthem 8, bars 105-111 cut)
138-140	?205-207	Replacing Anthem 8 bars 186-192 Suspensions added to Solo Alto/ Chorus Treble parts.
141-155	-	Long dominant pedal. Replaces Anthem 8 bars 193-201 and 208-213.
156-158	-	Equivalent to Anthem 8 bars 214-216. No closing ritornello.

No.5: Righteousness and equity

This movement owes only two features to the setting of the same text in Chandos Anthem 7: the shape of the opening four bars of the theme and the rhythm for the phrase 'shall go before Thy face' which appears at bar 25. The two movements serve different roles in their respective anthems: the Chandos movement is a D major chorus falling between two minor key arias, whereas the Chapel Royal movement is a minor key aria falling between two assertive concerted movements in major keys. Even within the predominantly cheerrful text of Anthem 5B some contrast was needed, and this aria makes a good foil to the surrounding movements. The text, with its emphasis on the judicial attributes of the Almighty, had an emotional ambiguity which made it appropriate for more serious treatment: God's justice and mercy are fit subjects for celebration, but the prospect of judgement also carries the darker possibilities of rejection. There is an obvious parallel between the emotional function of this movement within the anthem and that of the verse beginning 'We believe that Thou shalt come to be our Judge' in the Te Deum settings: both introduce serious matters without unduly interrupting the general rejoicing.

Handel develops the initial melodic ideas using techniques similar to those employed in the first movement of the anthem. The music unfolds within a binary structure, with instrumental ritornellos based on the opening theme acting as concerto-type landmarks. The strings answer the voice in close imitation at bars 10-13 and 47-50, but elsewhere the aria has a simple trio texture for oboe, voice and basso continuo. It is remarkable that this was not one of the movements which Handel quarried for his Op. 5 Trio Sonatas, for it could have been re-arranged relatively easily and quite effectively into this medium.

19 These alterations may be more apparent than real.  
Dotted rhythm groups in the oboe part were replaced  
by plain quaver groups at bar 2 beat 1, bar 4 beat 1,  
and bar 6 beat 3; however, they remain as dotted  
groups when the soloists repeat the theme. The  
autograph of this movement is lost, but the 5B  
earliest MS copies leave no doubt that Handel's  
notation was inconsistent here.

No. 6: My mouth shall speak the praise of the Lord

This movement received the least revision. Handel took the final movement of Chandos Anthem 5A, slowed down the speed from Allegro to Andante, made some rhythmical alterations to the subject<sup>19</sup> and some improvements to the shape of the bass part, but otherwise he simply adapted the music to the new forces. One bar was removed, but this was due to a stenographic rather than an aesthetic alteration: the bar's rest before the concluding "Amen" was replaced by a pause over the rest at the end of the previous bar. The Tenor solos from the Chandos anthem provided material for the Chapel Royal Alto and Bass soloists in the first half of the movement, the former once part supplying the music for the second soloist in bars 10-12. The addition of an extra chorus part and an extra orchestral part in the tutti sections presented Handel with few difficulties. It is interesting that, as in No. 3, Wheely's part in chorus sections of the movement commutes between the chorus bass and tenor parts.



20 The autograph of Ottone is divided between two volumes, RM 20.b.9 and RM 20.b.10, both of which include many pages with rastra @2 28. The autograph of Alessandro, RM 20.a.5, includes only two leaves with rastra @2 28-28.5, (f.30-31, probably an insertion composed mid-April 1726) but the individual stave-rulings of these pages are rather closer to those of RM 20.g.8 than were those in Ottone.

21 See Appendix 11 and Chapter 10, infra.

Autograph

B.L. RM 20.g.8, f.7-22 (Incomplete autograph, breaking off after bar 68 of No. 3) 4 bin.

Watermark: C', of a type unique in Handel's extant autographs.

Rastrography: @2 28-28.5; similar rastra are found in the autographs of Ottone (1722) and part of Alessandro (1726).<sup>20</sup>

Singers named:

No.1. Mr. Hughs (Alto)

No.2. Mr. Hughs (Alto); Mr. Whely (Bass)

No.3. Mr. Hughs (Alto); (Mr.) Getting (Tenor);  
(Mr.) Whely (Bass)

No.4. Mr. Hughs (Alto); Mr. Whely (Bass)

The autograph includes the following pencil emendations in Handel's hand, dating from 1744 when movements from the anthem were adapted for use in Belshazzar.<sup>21</sup>

No.1 Bar 46: Cut indicated with 'NB' from here to the end of the movement, where Handel wrote out a new ending on the spare staves on f.10v, linking this movement to the last movement of the anthem, 'Vide infra my mouth shall'.

No.4 Direction at the top of page (f.18v.): 'ex g. un tono piu basso'. Pencil cue for adaptation of opening solo voice entry to soprano clef for 'Franc(esina) solo'.

Bar 35, bar 38: entries marked 'Contr' and 'Ten' respectively.

Bar 50-51 chorus bass part cued in an octave higher.

Bar 61, beat 2 - bar 63: Chorus bass part has pencilled note heads a seventh higher. Handel was presumably thinking of the chorus in G major at this point.

It seems quite likely that sections of the autograph became separated, and the second part went astray, when the anthem was used in the preparation of the conducting score of Belshazzar. J.C. Smith the younger tried to make up the deficiency in the anthem autograph c. 1770 (see MS F 1, below), probably when he put the autographs in some sort of order before presentation to King George III.

Two substantial passages were revised during composition and deleted by Handel before the orchestral parts were fully scored. They occur in No. 1 (2 bars, long melisma on "ever", after bar 40) and No. 4 (3 bars, including entry of main subject in Tenor part, after bar 63).

No. 1 occupies a complete binio (f.7-10), and ends with the (apparently redundant) cue "O Worship the Lord a 2". There is evidence from secondary copies that a similar redundant cue occurred in the autograph between Nos. 5 and 6. Handel probably began the composition of the anthem by adapting the outer movements from Chandos Anthem 5 and then composed and inserted the inner movements: this would account for the cues.

- 22 The signatures of these two owners appear on the outside and inside of the front cover of the MS respectively. It is not possible to say which is the earlier: neither of them appears to be in the same hand as the copyist of the music text. I have not been able to identify either of the owners.
- 23 Clausen: Direktionspartituren, p. 252



Manuscript Copies

Copies A-C, and possibly also D and E, were made before the second part of the autograph was lost. An accurate text for the second half of the anthem can be reconstructed from their collective testimony. Copies A and B are particularly valuable because the copyists included all of the singers' names from the original as well as the music. They probably followed the general layout of the autograph as well. From these copies we can make the following inferences about the lost section of the autograph:

## No. 5: Speed "Larghetto"

Singer named: Mr. Hughs (Alto)

Oboe and Violin 1 shared the same stave up to bar 32.

After this the staves were re-arranged with oboe on stave 1 and both violin parts on stave 2 until bar 52, when the original arrangement was restored.

The movement ended with the cue "Chorus My Mouth Shall Speak the Praise of the Lord".

## No. 6: Speed "Andante"

Singers named: Mr. Hughs (Alto); Mr. whely (Bass)

Chorus parts labelled "Ripieno"

At the end: "Fine" three times, after Violin 2, solo Bass and chorus Bass staves.

A. ~~Mr~~ Henry Watson Music Library (Flower Collection)

MS 130 Hd4 v.47(3)

Score, not from Aylesford collection.

Formerly the property of Thos. Batty and H. Beaumont.<sup>22</sup>

Copyist: Unidentified

Watermark: E'4. This does not occur in Handel's autographs, but it can be found in conducting scores from 1724-5.<sup>23</sup>

Rastrography: 12-stave, 06 88, 02 28.5

24 The first page is illustrated in Lenneberg and Libin: Chicago, plate 3.. The same hand also made additions to the 'Cumings' mixed volume of Handel arias, including some from Messiah (now in the Nanki Library, Japan), which may also be of Aylesford provenance.

The fly-leaf carries the following (correct) description, probably in the hand of the copyist: 'Anthems./Let God Arise/I will magnify thee/as altered for the K's Chapple'. The score may have been prepared for someone who had strong connections with the Chapel and also had sufficient influence to gain access to Handel's scores. In view of the small-size upright format (10¼" x 7¼") it is unlikely that this was a performance score. Nevertheless, it is a very accurate copy.

B US - Cu MS 437, Vol 25 Score, Aylesford Collection

Copyist: Unidentified<sup>24</sup>

c. 1731-2

Watermarks: Cc, Da

Rastrography: 12-stave, @2

Some of the figuring may be in Charles Jennens' hand.

Jennens may not have acquired the score from his usual sources in the Smith scriptorium: its format and copyist are unusual for the Aylesford Collection.

Anthem 5B as a whole does not appear in the accompanying performance parts, but movement No. 5, copied by S2, is inserted into Anthem 7 as an alternative to the chorus setting of the same text. The relevant part-book volumes are:

Vol. 11 (Oboe 1), Vol. 13 (Oboe 2), Vol. 15 (Violin 1)

Vol. 17 (Violin 2), Vol. 19 (Violin 3),

Vol. 3 (Alto solo, plus Bc accompaniment.)

Vol. 1 (Organo), Vol. 21 (Violoncello e Bassone)

These are derived from the score: they include the additional figurings and a characteristic wrong note in the alto part at bar 17. The two oboe parts contain identical music (the original oboe solo part) and Violin 3 has the same music as Violin 2. The parts confirm that Handel's distribution of music between Violins

- 25 The Oxford material for Anthem 5A is a score in Goodson's hand (Ob MS. Mus. Sch. b. 1) and a set of parts, also mainly Goodson's hand (Ob MS Mus. Sch. c. 104 and Ucc MS 70-75). See also Burrows: Oxford
- 26 i.e. Walter Powell, the Oxford Alto solist who had performed for Handel in 1733.



and Oboe in the ritornellos is not exactly that as printed in Chrysander's edition.

In contrast to source A, the Aylesford score was made by a very careless copyist: his errors, and his attempts to correct them, are all too visible.

C London, Guildhall Library, Gresham Music Library

MSS 365, 366

Parts for Hautbois and Violoncello, transposed to G major.

Copyist: S1, with some later additions

Watermark: Cc

Rastrography: 12-stave @2 32.5

c.1735

Accurate texts, probably derived from the autograph independently of any other known MS copies. The parts may be a section of a dispersed collection connected with scores in the hand of S3 (See infra, A major Te Deum MSS C and D).

D Occ MS.71, MS.1141. Parts, Violin 2 and Oboe for movement 1

only, transposed to G major. Goodson/Fawcett Collection.

Copyist: ?Richard Fawcett

Watermark: Unidentified

Rastrography: 12-stave @2 29.5

These parts are additions to performing material for Anthem 5A.<sup>25</sup> It appears that Oxford musicians acquired a copy of Anthem 5B c. 1735-40 and re-arranged the opening movements of Anthem 5A as follows:

(1), 9-bar Largo, probably composed by one of the Oxford musicians in the Goodson/Fawcett circle.

(2) Anthem 5B, No. 1, for 'Mr. Powell'.<sup>26</sup>

(3) The first chorus (No. 2) of Anthem 5A.

27 Contrast this with the parts in Copy C, which are so accurate as to suggest that the copyist's lost source was already in G major.

28 The size of Handel's autograph RM 20.g.8 was very unusual in the first place: Larsen's table (Messiah, p.300) is misleading here, because there are incorrect entries for the size of the Chandos Anthem volume RM 20.d.7 and for the autograph of Anthem 6C in Add. 30308. Smith obviously found it impossible to acquire paper which matched the original: the pages have been trimmed from a wider and deeper paper, probably originally ruled 16 staves.

The copyist of the parts was working from a score which was in the original key of A major: the Violin 2 part in particular gives evidence of his incompetence at consistent transposition.<sup>27</sup>

E B.L. Egerton MS 2911, f. 48v-72 (Original pagination 96-143) Granville Collection. Score c. 1740

Copyist: S1

Watermark: C<sup>+</sup>f

Rastrography: 16-stave @2 30.5

22-stave @2 24

A good "library copy", containing a few mistakes not occurring elsewhere.

F B.L. RM.18.b.7 A fair copy of the second half of the anthem.

Copyist: J.C. Smith the younger.

Watermark: C1 (f.1-8), F2 (remainder)

Rastrography: 13-stave @4 68

This appears to be a "rescue" copy which was intended to complement the surviving portion of the autograph. It begins where the autograph breaks off (No. 4, Bar 70) and it is written on paper which has been trimmed down to the same size as the autograph.<sup>28</sup> Smith's source was quite good. He seems to have added a few trills of his own.

c. 1750.

G B.L. RM.19.g., Vol.2, f.1-43 (Original pagination 1-84)

Smith Collection Score, c. 1770

Copyist: S11

Watermark: F1

Rastrography: 20-stave @10 197;

18-stave @9 195

A library copy, derived from MS B.

29 This description is printed by Burney in his  
'List of Handel's Works; Commemoration, Sketch  
p. 45



H US - NBU M2038.H14A5, Vol. 1 (Appendix), p. 119-189

(Original pagination 1-91)

Wynn Collection      Score, c. 1770

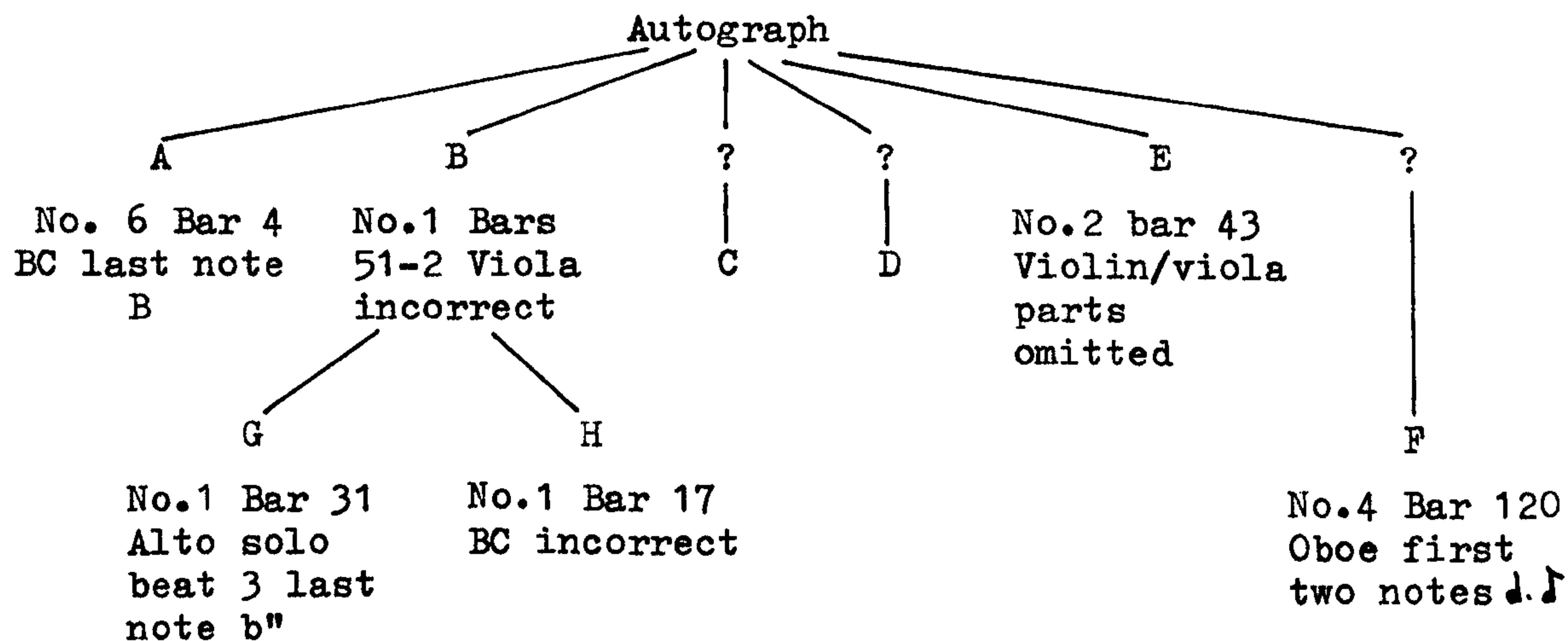
Copyists: Picker "A" and "B"

Derived from MS B

The index to this volume, probably written by S10, describes this anthem as 'Compiled & altered from several other Anthems for the Sons of the Clergy, at St. Paul's'.<sup>29</sup> This is an unlikely explanation of the anthem's origin, but it may be acceptable evidence for a performance at the Sons of the Clergy services in 1732-4.

Other sources for the Anthem include:

- (1) A set of vocal and instrumental parts for the complete anthem in G major belonging to Mercer's Hospital, Dublin. (Not available for collation, but probably dating from c. 1740).
- (2) The conducting score of *Belshazzar*, 1745 (D - Hs MA/1009). The movements of the anthem which were used for the oratorio were copied from the autograph by J.C. Smith senior. They received later amendments from Handel and copyist S1.
- (3) Tenbury MS 620 includes a copy of the first movement of the anthem as adapted for use in Belshazzar, in the hand of S1.

Relationship of copiesPrinted Edition

Chrysander's edition in HG xxxiv was the first publication of the anthem. The text is derived from MS G, with some corrections.

30    Compare Chapter 4, Table 1.

### Te Deum in A Major

For some movements of this setting Handel drew upon music from the Chandos Te Deum. However, his re-working of this music along with new material changes the balance of the work as a whole, and the most closely comparable setting is the Caroline version, Handel's previous 'short' Chapel Royal Te Deum. Both works have the same compression and economy in their paragraphing of the text: some sections which were emphasized or dwelt upon in the longer Utrecht and Chandos versions are passed over quickly here, and the speedy transitions from one section to the next provide moments of dramatic contrast which are absent from the more spacious versions. Both of the short settings depend for their artistic success upon the balanced placing of short sections, arranging a mosaic to form a coherent picture. This is in direct contrast to the Chandos Te Deum, where individual clauses received the luxurious treatment of individually developed movements. Paradoxically, the latter procedure tends towards a more fragmented overall effect: there are several places in the Chandos setting where the listener has to wait rather too long for a half-verse to play itself out. In the A major Te Deum, on the other hand, there is only just enough time to digest one event before the next is presented.

It will be seen from Table 5 that the paragraph structure of the A major Te Deum follows closely that of the Caroline setting.<sup>30</sup> There is only one significant change: in the central section verses 16-23 are broken up into two movements. Seven paragraphs result:

Verses 1-6; 7-13, with 14-15 as a semi-detached coda;  
16-18; 19-23; 24-25; 26-28; 29

The third and sixth paragraphs receive more extended treatment



## Chapter 9 Table 5

Handel's A Major Te Deum

The arrangement of this table is the same as that used for Chapter 4 Table 1 (page 108), to which reference should be made for the abbreviations used and for the numbering of verses.

<u>Verse</u>	<u>Key</u>	<u>t/s</u>	<u>Voices</u>	<u>Orch</u>
1. We praise Thee	A	C	sAatBbb	Full
3. To Thee all angels	b		T, Chorus	Full (Ob, Fg. obbl.)
4. To Thee Cherubin	f		A	St.
5 & 6. Holy, holy			Chorus	Full
7. The glorious company	b	$\frac{3}{4}$	B, Chorus	Full
8. The goodly fellowship	(D)		T, Chorus	
9. The noble army	(f )		A,Chorus	
10. The holy church	b		A, Chorus	
11-13. The Father	F	C	Chorus	
14-15. Thou art the King	D	C	Chorus	Ob, Full
16-18. When Thou tookest,	D	$\frac{3}{4}$	A	Full (Fl, Fg. obbl.)
19-20. We believe	e	C	B, A	Full (Ob., Fg. obbl.)
20½. Help Thy servants	(G)		Chorus	Full
21. Make them to be numbered	G		B	St.
22-23. O Lord, save Thy people	e		Chorus	Full
24-25. Day by day	C	C	Chorus	Full
26-28. Vouchsafe, O Lord	a	$\frac{3}{4}$	A	Full (Ob, Fg. obbl.)
29. O Lord, in Thee	A	C	Chorus	Full

Notes: 4-part strings throughout. 'Full' orchestra is Ob. (or Fl.), Fg. and Strings, plus Bc. Where there is no obbligato part for Fg., I assume this instrument doubles the orchestral bass line in the choruses.

'Chorus' is laid out by Handel as sAatBBb, No distinction is made with this above, except where A and B have solo music within choruses.

31 This does not entail seven 'real' contrapuntal parts.  
The layout is useful mainly in distinguishing the  
solo Alto and Bass parts from the chorus lines.  
Although Gates is given a separate stave, his part  
differs from the chorus Bass (Bass 3) part only in  
small details. In bars 10-13 the principal soloists,  
Hughes and Wheely, operate in tandem; nevertheless,  
Handel did not apparently think of them as a 'con-  
certino' group. Compare the layout of this movement  
with No. 3 of Anthem 5B.

than in the Caroline Te Deum, the two aria movements providing a counterbalance to the compression of the choral sections. These two movements are also the most characteristic and individual features of the setting: the talents of the Chapel Royal alto soloist and the woodwind obbligato players drew some excellent music from Handel. If the scoring of the A major Te Deum lacks the glamour which the trumpets contributed to the Caroline setting, the imagination with which Handel employs the chamber-music potential of his vocal and instrumental forces is ample compensation.

No. 1: We praise Thee, O God

This movement is arranged from No. 1 of the Chandos Te Deum. The springing dotted rhythms immediately convey both the exaltation of the text and the scale of the work: their effect would have been hopelessly lost in St. Paul's Cathedral. Handel's alteration to the speed, 'Non troppo allegro' in place of 'Andante' probably indicates a slight slowing down for the Chapel Royal. The original version was composed for the fullest complement of vocal forces in the Cannons establishment: treble, 3 tenors, bass. Handel adapted this to give seven vocal parts for the Chapel Royal,<sup>31</sup> with short solos for Hughes and Wheely derived from the former Oboe and 2nd Tenor parts. For the first 16 bars Handel's alterations to the movement, apart from transposition, were matters of layout and detail. The most interesting revision occurs in bar 13, where the string parts are brought in half a bar earlier in order to provide additional interest to a 'slack' part of the bar. The remainder of the movement, the second clause of the first verse, is dispatched in a mere seven bars of new, basically homophonic, music, the orchestral dotted-rhythm theme providing a unifying link in bars 17-18. It may be an accident that the move-

32 The similarity extends to the cadence at the end of the movement.

33 This type of accompaniment is usually associated with rather anguished texts - see, for example, 'Doleful tidings' from Deborah, 'The People shall hear' from Israel in Egypt and, 'How dark, O Lord' from Jephtha, all of them choruses. Perhaps the question still remains as to the sense in which Handel interpreted the word 'cry' in this verse of the Te Deum.

34 The opening phrase of the solo part is related to the Bass aria 'Mein Vater' from Handel's Brockes Passion (HG vol. xv, p.25).



ment ends in the same key, and with the same cadence, as the Utrecht setting at this point in the text.

No. 2: To Thee all Angels cry aloud

In general character this movement is indebted to No. 2 of the Utrecht 'Ie Deum, where the same text is set in the same key<sup>32</sup> and with the same type of jagged accompaniment.<sup>33</sup> The treatment of the text is similar, the chorus answering the soloist at 'The Heav'ns and all the Powers therein', though this time there are only two statements as against the three in the Utrecht setting. In other respects this is a completely new movement. The leading solo melodies are independent of the Utrecht version,<sup>34</sup> the accompaniment is differently handled and the harmonic progressions are more forceful. Handel elaborates the texture with superbly timed cumulative effect. The opening string figuration recedes into an accompaniment for the oboe and bassoon duet: this in turn gives place to the entry of the soloist, and finally the chorus entry completes the ensemble. By contrast the Utrecht setting, with its 'till ready' string accompaniment which never grows up into anything more significant, is under-developed. Within a mere 16 bars, Handel here created a fully-rounded movement in a more mature style.

No. 3: To Thee Cherubin and Seraphin

The verbal text completes that of the previous movement. This is faithfully reflected in the music, which rounds off the key-scheme by completing the binary structure left in mid-air at the end of No. 2. Pianissimo staccato quavers replace the broken rhythms of the previous movement as the principal accompaniment figuration. As in all of Handel's previous settings, verses 5-6 receive a straightforward homophonic choral treatment after

35 The plan of giving each clause (Apostles/Prophets/  
Martyrs) to a different soloist goes back much further  
to Purcell's setting. The addition of the chorus  
on 'Praise Thee' seems to have been an original idea  
of Handel's.

the threefold repetition of "Holy". There is one momentary resemblance to the parallel movement of the Chandos Te Deum, in the rhythm of the solo part at bar 5.

No. 4: The glorious company of the Apostles

This movement is in two sections. The first section is similar in character to its predecessors in the Utrecht and Cannons settings: the words are set in triple time, in the minor mode, and with a running quaver accompaniment. The general scheme and some of the melodic formulae can be traced back to the Chandos version,<sup>35</sup> but the music is mainly new. The same applies to the ensuing Grave at 'The Father of an Infinite Majesty'. The Utrecht and Chandos settings have a similar change of speed and metre at this point: the declamation in the A major Te Deum is closer in rhythm to the former than to the latter. The throbbing quaver accompaniment, anticipating Handel's treatment of 'O Lord, save thy people' is a new feature in this setting. Handel maintains a more consistent tutti texture than in the previous versions and cadences more clearly: the overall effect is stronger and more direct. The finality of the last perfect cadence is particularly appropriate in marking out the structure of the text more strongly than in any of Handel's previous settings: the words "the Holy Ghost, the Comforter" are the end of the first paragraph of the Canticle, the hymn to the Trinity.

The second section, commencing at bar 35 with an abrupt shift of the key-centre to D major, is by way of a transition into the second, Christ-centred, paragraph of the Te Deum. The music is taken from the Chandos Te Deum, where it had been worked into an extended imitative movement of more than 70 bars. Handel now gives a précis of it in 9 bars. At the opening he does not even



allow a full statement of the theme from the Chandos version: the subject is presented immediately together with a loose counter-subject derived from the subject's third bar, and the working-out closes with a perfect cadence after only four bars. The same material is adapted to lead immediately into the beginning of the second clause 'Thou art the everlasting Son' and the parts quickly combine together into groups, gravitating towards the choral homophony which is Handel's favourite time-saving device in the shorter Te Deum settings. In contrast to the end of the comparable movement of the Chandos Te Deum, this section ends with an imperfect cadence which 'sets up' the transition to the next movement.

#### No. 5: When Thou tookest upon Thee

After a succession of short 'solo and chorus' movements No. 5 is the first aria-type movement, and the first one for which extended comparison with a previous setting can be made. The principal theme of the movement comes from the Chandos Te Deum and Handel follows the same key-structure as in the parent movement (see Table 6). Beyond this, the music is entirely new. The introduction of the obbligato woodwind duo (Flute and Bassoon) led Handel to re-think the structure of the answering phrases in terms of three blocks of sound (woodwind/strings/voice).

Recomposition, rather than adaptation, was in any case rather forced upon Handel. In about the same number of bars as in the comparable Chandos movement, he encompasses three times as much of the text: in this respect the movement is almost as compact as No. 3 of the Caroline Te Deum.

There are three distinct themes within the text: Handel starts again with new melodic formulae for each verse, while at



- 37 Chrysander, following some secondary copies, made the movement appear more fragmented than Handel intended by inserting a double bar after bar 17. There is a page-turn in the autograph at this point, but Handel did not even insert a single barline.
- 38 The simplification included the removal of a diminished seventh chord (bar 25 of the Chandos Te Deum).

## Chapter 9 Table 6

A Major Te Deum : Adaptation  
of 'When Thou tookest upon Thee' (No.5)  
from 'Chandos' Te Deum No. 5

<u>A Major</u> (Bar Nos.)	<u>Key</u>	<u>'Chandos'</u> (Bar Nos.)	<u>Commentary</u>
1-14	Tonic	1-18	Instrumental introduction. Bars 8-11 new, replacing <u>Chandos</u> bars 8-15
14-22	Tonic	18-24	'Tookest' treated as one syllable in <u>Chandos</u> , but two syllables in A Major Te Deum.
22-27			New material
27-34	Dominant	32-37	Cadence and instrumental ritornello from previous setting: end of ritornello recomposed.
34-39	Relative minor	38-43	Rising melody adapted.
40-50	Sub-dominant		New material based on immediately preceding. Cadence at bar 50 comparable to <u>Chandos</u> , bar 50.
50-53	Sub-dominant	50-53	Instrumental ritornello.
54-61	Tonic		New material. Return to tonic at 61 comparable to <u>Chandos</u> bar 57, but no reprise of opening melody in A major Te Deum.
61-73	Tonic		New. Only final cadence figure is comparable (cf. <u>Chandos</u> bars 76-77). 'Trill' figure at <u>Chandos</u> bar 68 may be source for important material earlier in A major movement: e.g. orchestra bar 11, voice 60-62.
73-77	Tonic	77-80	Opening of instrumental epilogue.
78-87	Tonic		Remainder of ritornello new, partly derived from A major Te Deum bars 59-63.

Notes: 'Key' column gives tonality at end of each section. The Chandos Te Deum movement is in F major; the A major Te Deum movement is in D major.

36 It was also, in the first place, a logical extension  
of the movement's opening theme.

the same time preserving the overall unity of the aria. By running verses 16-18 together, he sacrificed the opportunity for contrast at 'When Thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death/ Thou didst open the kingdom of Heaven' which had provided striking moments in both the Utrecht and the Chandos settings. Instead the aria succeeds by purely musical means: the intrinsic interest of the melodic material and its development. The new ideas begin with the answering theme for 'Thou didst not abhor' based on a falling fourth and imitated by the woodwind. (Bars 22-30). The climbing phrase for the second verse 'When Thou hadst overcome' is derived from the parallel passage in the previous version of the aria, though to different words.<sup>36</sup> (Ex. 9)

Ex. 9

'Chandos' Te Deum No. 5

A Major Te Deum No. 5

When Thou look'st up-on — Thee to — de — li — ver — man

When Thou hadst o-ver-come — the — sharpness of death

The third verse 'Thou sittest at the right hand' is based on new music, again enlivened by imitation between vocal and woodwind soloists. Handel did not accompany the return to the tonic at bar 61 with a reprise of the opening melodic material, as had happened in the Chandos version. This faithfully reflects the difference between the two movements: the Chandos version repeats the opening text, but the new movement has moved on to a different verse by the time the return to the tonic is reached.

It is interesting to note that Handel restored the speed to that which he had originally designated for the Chandos Te Deum, where he altered 'Andante' to 'Larghetto'.



37 Chrysander, following some secondary copies, made the movement appear more fragmented than Mandel intended by inserting a double bar after bar 17. There is a page-turn in the autograph at this point, but Mandel did not even insert a single barline.

38 The simplification included the removal of a diminished seventh chord (bar 25 of the Chandos Te Deum).

No. 6: We believe that Thou shalt come

A composite movement of three short sections. The material of the first two sections, which both begin with soloists and culminate in chorus entries, is derived quite closely from the Chandos Te Deum, No. 9. Such were the accidents of the key-schemes in the two works that Handel was even able to re-use the music in the same key.

The instrumental introduction contains a technical tour de force. The Chandos version began with an oboe cantilena melody anticipating the solo voice parts, accompanied by simple string chords. Handel was able to introduce into this pre-composed material an obbligato part for the bassoon soloist of the Chapel Royal performance. The added part imitates figures from the oboe part, and immediately becomes a natural part of the musical fabric. The ensuing verse is adapted from the Chandos version with minor amendments to the layout: the decision to give some of the music to a Bass soloist entailed adjustments to the instrumental bass line. The second verse 'Make them to be numbered' received more extensive revision.<sup>37</sup> In the solo section only the background of a moving-quaver instrumental bass and the key of G major is retained: the florid solo for the bass is new, replacing a duet for two tenors in the Chandos Te Deum. In the choral continuation Handel shifted material from the earlier version around a little, giving a more emphatic declamation reinforced by slightly simpler harmonic progressions.<sup>38</sup> A remarkably sturdy product emerges as a result of some fairly simple musical carpentry: half a bar added at bar 25, half a bar subtracted at bar 27 and bar 29 re-composed to replace two former bars.

The most striking change to the second section lies in the simple omission of the Chandos version's closing three-bar ritor-

- 39 Once again, a variation on the 'Non nobis'-type cantus firmus, obviously a favourite of Handel's. Its use in the last movement of the Utrecht Te Deum and related places has already been noted. One of these places is the last movement of Anthem 11B, which is the companion anthem to the A major Te Deum.
- 40 Chrysander included most of Handel's careful bassoon cues in his edition, but missed the last one: 'NB Les Bassons colla Parte et Violoncelli' next to the tenor part at bar 56.
- 41 Handel's cues, as will be seen from that quoted in the previous note, refer to bassoons in the plural. I think that this was absent-mindedness, or possibly, wishful thinking on the composer's part.

nello. This removes a 'buffer' to the next section, and the prayer 'Govern them and lift them up for ever' now gives way to spontaneous rejoicing, with an abrupt change of speed and key: only the treble e" is a link between the two sections. Once again, Handel produces a superbly effective link-by-reaction, a technique successfully employed in previous Chapel Royal works, including the Caroline Te Deum and Anthem 5B. Though the rhythm of 'Day by day' owes something to the Utrecht setting, the material is new, and so is its treatment. Handel sustains the musical interest by alternating the chordal figure for 'Day by day' with a scalar cantus firmus theme<sup>39</sup> heard successively in canto, bass and tenor chorus parts. The last entry is accompanied by choral figures derived from the orchestral accompaniment. The scoring of the last bars is of some interest:<sup>40</sup> 'cellos and bassoon<sup>41</sup> double the tenor cantus firmus in the middle of the texture, leaving bass voices, double basses and organ with the harmonic bass.

#### No. 7: Vouchsafe, O Lord

This is completely new music and owes nothing to previous settings. The strings accompany three soloists - alto, oboe and bassoon - in an extended aria. The style of the movement seems largely instrumental in conception, though the Alto solo part is 'vocal' enough and it is lyrical in the serious vein which characterised all settings of this text from Purcell's famous original onwards. Little further needs to be said: the movement is a successful binary form aria with a good melodic flow. Handel's bassoonist must have been no mean executant: the instrument's complete range of more than two octaves is exploited to the full, with scarcely a pause for breath.



No. 8: O Lord, in Thee have I trusted

A new chorus, worked in Handel's favourite theme-combination manner, on principles well tried in the previous settings. The bold opening, followed by the shorter-note continuation 'let me never be confounded', is a pattern familiar from the Utrecht and Caroline settings. The quaver figure for 'let me never be confounded' is actually very close to that found in the Caroline Te Deum. The minim theme and the quaver answer are soon combined with a running semiquaver passage which is first heard in the orchestra but is cunningly used as chorus material in the lead up to a grand reprise of the opening at bar 20. The movement, short though it is, is a fitting conclusion to a work which may be regarded as Handel's masterpiece in 'brevis' settings of this canticle. Throughout the work he successfully compressed the musical content without stemming the flow: this Te Deum exhibits nearly every facet of Handel's English church music, but on a miniature scale.

42 This may be a reference to some conducting score.  
The possibility can not be completely ruled out  
that some Te Deum setting composed by Handel in the  
1720's has been lost and that the composer salvaged  
No. 2 from this 'lost' setting. Such a work might,  
for example, have been composed for the Chapel  
Royal service on 5.1. 1723/4: see the proposed  
chronological scheme at the end of Chapter 7.

Autograph

B.L. RM.20.g.4 f.1-20. Lacking one movement, No. 2, but otherwise complete. 5 bin.

Watermark: Cb

Rastrography: 12-stave, @2 31.5 . This characteristic stave ruling is shared only by Anthem 11B: I have not found it in any of Handel's other autographs.

The absence of No. 2 presents something of a puzzle. It seems that Handel wrote it on a separate sheet, which was not part of the original gatherings. Handel's cue 'To the (sic) all Angels from the other score' appears at the end of No. 1 on f.3r, and f.3v continues with No. 3. The cue is not crammed in to the page, nor does it appear to have been added as an afterthought. The appearance of the autograph does not support the possibility that Handel simply forgot to set the words of No. 2 and had to make it good afterwards; neither does the musical construction of this section, since Nos. 2 and 3 belong naturally together. The reference to 'the other score' only compounds the mystery.<sup>42</sup> Whatever this was, it was lost by the 1740's when the Aylesford copyist was at work (see below, Copy E). The text of No. 2 can, however, be confidently established from manuscript copies.

Singers named:

No. 1: Alto 1 - Mr. Hughs; Bass 1- Mr. Wheely;

Bass 2 - Mr. Gates

(No. 2: Alto 1 - Mr. Hughs; Tenor - Mr. Gething

- from secondary copies)

No. 3: Alto - Mr. Hughs

No. 4: Alto 1 - (Mr) H(ughs); Tenor - Mr. Getting (at bar 12);

Bass 1 - (Mr) W(hely); Bass 2 - (Mr) G(ates)

The solo parts in this movement were subjected to some

43 See Note (40), supra.



re-arrangement by Handel during the course of composition. The bass solo at bar 5 was begun on Gates' stave and then transferred to Wheely's. The alto solo at bar 18 was originally given to 'Mr. Bell' (who is otherwise not named on the MS) on Alto 2, and then transferred to Hughes on Alto 1. One possible inference is that Handel discovered or remembered during the composition of the movement that Bell was not 'in waiting' for the month of the performance.

No. 5: Alto - Mr. Hughs

No. 6: Alto 1 - Mr. Hughs; Tenor - Mr. Getting;

Bass 1 - Mr. Whely; Bass 2 - Mr. Gates.

Canto part at bar 41 marked "all"

No. 7: Alto - Mr. Hughs

It is remarkable that, although his part is named throughout, Gates is given virtually no solo work. From copies A and B we can infer that the following names also appeared at the start of the lost autograph of No. 2:

Alto 1 - Mr. Hughs

Solo Tenor - Mr. Getting

There are a few uncertainties as to Handel's intentions on details of performance practice. In the arias Nos. 5 and 7 Handel wrote the second violin and viola parts on the same stave but did not show the viola part consistently throughout. The Aylesford copyist gave the second violin part, transposed down an octave to viola, in No. 7, bars 31-50, which does not seem quite right, and other copyists tended to add (more suitable) extra parts in No. 5. Although the bassoon obbligato part in Nos. 2, 5 and 7 is obviously for a soloist, and only one bassoonist is accounted for in the Lord Chamberlain's records, Handel's cues in No. 6 bars 53 and 55 mention 'Bassons'.<sup>43</sup> Some 'double stopping'

44 Chrysander's edition reproduces them exactly  
as in the autograph.

in the Alto solo part at bars 25-6 of No. 7 gives two alternative versions of the melodic line.<sup>44</sup> The upper part appears to have been written slightly later than the lower part. This is what we would expect, knowing that Hughes was a "high" alto: Handel probably realised that the low cadential ending did not suit his singer very well and supplied the higher version as a more practical alternative. Only the lower version appears in the MS copies.

45 See 'Copies G-M', infra.



46 The owner of the MS is identified by Larsen  
(Messiah, p. 267) as Mrs. Margarete Schou.

Manuscript Copies.

The eighteenth century copies of this work fall into two groups. One group shares a large number of corrupt readings, probably derived from a copy not now extant, which I shall designate 'X'. The copies which are independent of 'X' will be listed first.

It is remarkable that the Te Deum does not appear in the volumes of the Granville and Lennard Collections, although the companion work, Anthem 11B, is included in both. The explanation for this may lie in the absence of movement No. 2 from the autograph: perhaps the copyists were reluctant to include an incomplete work in these tidy library collections. In the case of the Aylesford Collection tidiness appears to have been a secondary consideration, and the copyist seems to have been instructed to reproduce any music that he could find: hence the Te Deum is represented there, but in an incomplete form.

A Mp Henry Watson Music Library (Flower Collection)

MS 130 Hd4 v. 47(1)

c. 1725-1730

This score, not from Aylesford Collection volume, contains Anthems 5B and 11B as well as the Te Deum, all in the hand of the same copyist. Its characteristics have already been described: see supra Anthem 5B, Copy A.

There are some textual mistakes, to which reference will be made later,<sup>45</sup> but this MS provides a good source for No. 2, and includes singers' names from the autograph throughout.

B Lcm MS 1057

A miscellaneous volume, apparently assembled by John Alcock (senior) from various MSS. The Te Deum begins on f. 48: it is a separate MS, originally paginated 1-58. The volume

bears Alcock's signature with the date 1763, but the Te Deum MS is much earlier in origin, c. 1725-30. On a leaf inserted before the Te Deum the work is described by Alcock as follows: 'A Te Deum, for Voices & Instruments, compos'd by Mr. Handel, for the late Duke of Chandos's Chappel at Cannons. N.B. This Te Deum is not printed, & in very few hands'.        Score.

Copyist: Unidentified. The copyist may have been connected with the Chapel Royal. His copies of Croft's music from the 1720's contain additions in Croft's own hand: see, for example, Lcm MSS 666, f. 70-71 and Ob MS Mus.c.1, f.3v.

Watermark: Pro Patria/GR

Rastrography: 12-stave @4 85

A good copy of the autograph, including movement No. 2 and the names of the soloists. Alcock's attribution of the Te Deum to the Chandos period is, of course, negated by the presence of these very names.

C    Danish Private Collection.<sup>46</sup> Score volume containing the A Major Te Deum and two Chandos Anthems. Te Deum score paginated 1-59.

c. 1735

Copyist: S3

Watermark: C type

Rastrography: 12-stave ?@2 32.5

A good copy. Singers' names are not included, but Handel's final 'S.D.G.' is reproduced as 'Solī Deo Gloria'. The score includes some additional speed indications, not found elsewhere:

No. 2: Large

No. 4: Andante; at bar 35: Allegro

## No. 7: Largo Andante

They appear to be in the hand of S3, but may have been later additions. They need not be taken as authentic, and that at bar 35 of No. 4 is demonstrably wrong.

D London, Guildhall Library, Gresham Music Library

MSS 365,366. Parts for Oboe and Bassoon.

c. 1735

Copyist: S3, with later additions. The Flute obbligato part in No. 5 (MS 365) is headed 'Oboe & Traversier'. An inserted half-sheet (probably of later date) gives this movement transposed to A major, for oboe alone.

Watermark: Cc

Rastrography: 12-stave @2 32.5

There are good reasons for associating these parts with the score, MS C, just described. They are in the hand of the same copyist, and they contain the same Chandos Anthems as the score. The additional speed indications from the score are not reproduced, but the limited textual information available from the parts seems to confirm the link: the two sources share a wrong note in the oboe part of No. 2. The score did not contain some of Handel's Bassoon cues in the final section of No. 6, and the Bassoon part is consequently defective in following the Basso Continuo part too slavishly.

E Mp Henry Watson Music Library (Flower Collection)

MS 130 Hd4 v. 325 (Score) and associated parts, vocal and orchestral, in v. 327-335, 338-247.

Aylesford Collection

c. 1740 (score), ?c. 1745 (parts)

Charles Jennens annotated the fly-leaf of the score:



- 47 Burney's listing of this MS in Commemoration,  
Sketch, p. 45, is beset by curious punctuation.  
'Ditto in A, major 3<sup>d</sup>' should read 'Ditto in  
A Major, 3rd setting': cf. also the Sons of the  
Clergy announcement in 1735: 'Te Deum in Airy'.
- 48 Not identical with any of Clausen's B type  
watermarks.

'Te Deum in A'.<sup>47</sup> Some of the Basso Continuo figuring may also be in his hand.

Copyist: S2

Watermarks: Score: B type<sup>48</sup>

Parts: ?Ch, Ci

Rastrography: Score: 12-stave ② 31.5 - 32

Parts: 10-stave and 12-stave

The score reproduces the autograph as it stood at the time of copying: it does not contain the second movement, but Handel's cue 'NB to thee all Angels: as it is in the other Score' is copied at the end of No. 1. In all of the parts, the copyist left a blank page for No. 2 which was never filled in. Following normal practice, the Flute solos are included in the Oboe parts. The parts for Oboe 2, Bassoon 2 and Violoncello 2 are identical in content with the parts for Oboe 1, Bassoon 1 and Violoncello 1 respectively. The copyist extracted the parts from the score to match his sets of parts for Handel's other Te Deum settings: they can not be taken as evidence that Handel used two oboes, for example, in the original Chapel Royal performance. The Bassoon parts in No. 6 follow Handel's cues accurately. In No. 7, bars 31-50, the Viola part reproduces the Second Violin part an octave lower.

F Lcm MS 890 Score, ?c. 1760 Formerly in the library of the Concerts of Ancient Music.

Copyist: E.T. Warren

Watermark: Countermark 'JW' appears on all sheets

Rastrography: 12-stave ?⑥ 119

Front label bears the title 'Te Deum/by Mr. Handel/A<sup>4</sup>/561'.

This is not in Warren's hand; the number may be a former library reference.

An accurate text, including movement No. 2. It is not derived from any of the copies previously described.

### Copies G - M

These are copies of the 'X' group, referred to above. The hypothetical copy 'X' might have been a corrupt transcript of MS A, the following errors from A being characteristic of the 'X' group:

No. 4 Bar 35: No speed indication

No. 5 Bar 74: Violin 2, second note f' sharp

No. 6 Bar 1: Viola, second note c'

No. 7 Bar 4: Violin 2, second note b'

Bar 7: Viola, e'

Bar 54: Viola, notes g', g'

No. 8 6 minor errors in bars 8-11, 16-17

Additional corrupt readings from the 'X' group include:

No. 1 Bar 17: Alto 2, last note a'

Viola, last three notes .d'

No. 2 Bar 9: Viola entry two beats too early

No. 3 Bar 9: Bass 1 and 3 identical with

Bass 2

No. 4 Bar 16: Canto notes a', f' sharp

No. 6 Bar 42: Violin parts, crotchet rest beat 2

No. 7 Bars 7-10: Violin 2 and Viola parts confused,  
presumably the result of a misplaced  
bar in 'X' (Ex. 10 overleaf).

Copy 'X' must have been made soon after the work was composed: its errors were probably disseminated to copies G - I before 1730.

49 The movement ends with an imperfect cadence in F sharp minor. Whoever was responsible for the 'Y' source amended the bass parts to end on B, absentmindedly suggesting a perfect cadence in B minor. The result is a chord of C sharp major with a number of 'foreign' notes in it.





50 See Burrows: Dolben

51 See King: Collectors, Plate II(b)

The property of Sir John Dolben (d. 1756),<sup>50</sup> whose signature appears on the printed edition of Purcell's D major Te Deum and Jubilate bound with the MS. Subsequently owned by (John Lucius) Dampier and Vincent Novello.

Score, c. 1725-1730

Copyist: Unidentified

Watermark: Pro Patria/I VD L

Rastrography: 12-stave @4 83

I Collection of Gerald Coke, Bentley, Hants.

The 'Rimbault' MS, formerly the property of E.F. Rimbault.

Score, c. 1725-1730

Copyist: Unidentified

Watermark: Pro Patria/IV

Rastrography: 12-stave @4 81.5

Bookplate of 'Messrs Sharp'.<sup>51</sup> An introductory note in Rimbault's hand reads: 'I believe this to be an original MS of Handel. It was in the possession of Sir Watkin Williams Wynn and Granville Sharp. Both compositions [the A major Te Deum and Anthem 11B] were written for the Duke of Chandos.' Rimbault's statements are mostly incorrect, but the early date of the MS is not to be denied.

J B.L. RM.19.g.1, Vol.1, f.123-156 (Original pagination 1-67) Smith Collection.

Score, c. 1765

Copyist: S11

Watermark: F

Rastrography: 20-stave @10 197

A large 'library' score. A separate stave is provided for the bassoon part in the choruses, and this includes the correct music for the final section of No. 6.

K Collection of Gerald Coke.

Bookplate of Dorothea Mary Picton.

Title above music: 'Te Deum Laudamus by M<sup>r</sup> Handel,

For the late Duke of Chandois's Chapel at Cannons'.

Copy dated (17)66-7.

Score.

Copyist: Unidentified

Watermark: F1

Rastrography: 12-stave @6 119

L US - NBu M2038.H14A5, Vol. 1 (Appendix), p. 1-61

Wynn Collection.

Score, c. 1770

Copyist: S10

The index to the volume, also probably in the hand of S10, describes the work correctly, as

'Transposed and altered for the King's Chappel'.

See also supra, Anthem 5B, MS H

M Collection of Gerald Coke, bound with a copy of

Anthem 11B dated 1770.

Score, c. 1770

Copyist: Unidentified

Watermarks: H', F1 and 'I Portal'

Rastrography: 12-stave, ?@12 250

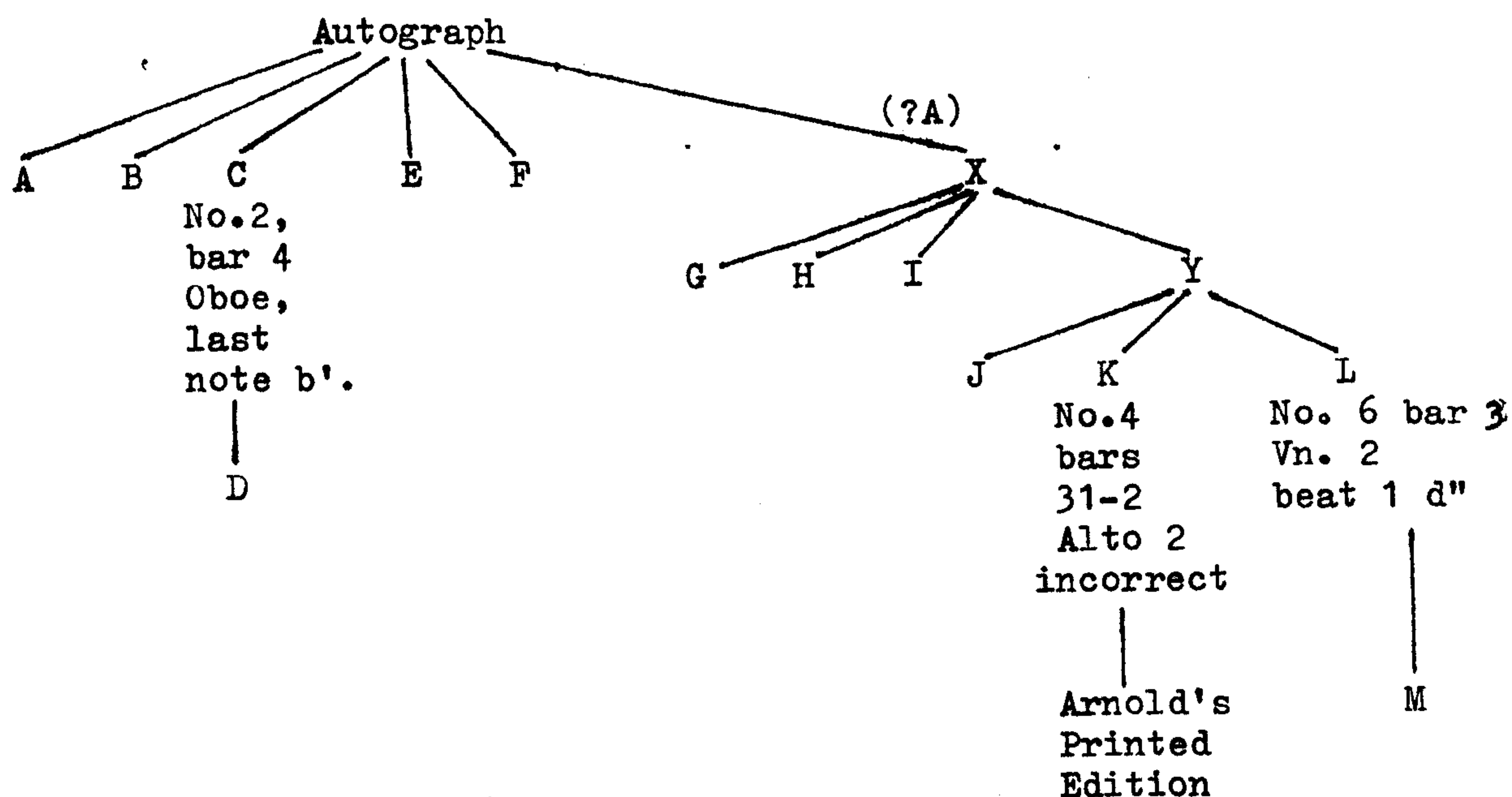


First Printed Edition

Te Deum in Score Composed for His Grace the Duke  
of Chandos (in the Year 1720) By G.F. Handel

Arnold's Edition, No. 20 (1788)

Arnold's copy-text was a MS from the 'X' group, and his edition therefore contained a fair number of errors. Chrysander did not state any source for his own text in HG Vol. 37 (1872) but he wisely paid no attention to Arnold's previous edition.

Relationship of Copies

52 The King perhaps remained standing during the performance of the anthem at Chapel Royal services: see the reference to George II in the Supplement Conditions of Performance, sub 'Chapel Royal, St. James's Palace'.

53 See Hatton: George I, p. 277-8

Anthem 11B - Let God arise

This is the shortest of Handel's Chapel Royal works from the second period. It comprises only four movements and takes less than a quarter of an hour in performance. Compressed though the A major Te Deum is, Handel may have felt that his music was still on the long side for the intended Chapel Royal service, and so deliberately provided a short companion anthem. If the suggested chronology of Handel's Chapel Royal music is correct, this would have been the last of his anthems for George I, and perhaps some allowance has to be made for the advancing age of the King,<sup>52</sup> or even for the possibility that Handel composed the music so close to the King's return that he was making allowances for the effects of a particularly bad Channel crossing on the King's stamina.

Handel used only the framework of the opening and closing choruses of the related Chandos Anthem, placing two newly-composed solo movements between them. Not too much importance need be attached to the nature of the text, which is rather more warlike than the previous ones of the series. There was growing tension during the period following the Treaty of Vienna (April 1725) and occasional scares throughout 1726-7 that a war with Spain might be imminent,<sup>53</sup> but it is more likely that Handel was influenced by the musical ideas from the Chandos Anthem than by the diplomatic climate. The imagery of psalm 68 was stimulating enough in itself. Although the Chapel Royal version is 8-10 minutes shorter than the Chandos Anthem, Handel lost surprisingly little from the text. 'Let the righteous be glad' (Verse 3 of the psalm, No. 4 of the Chandos Anthem) largely repeats sentiments which are present in other movements. Handel's new short setting of 'O sing unto God' is an improvement on the Chandos An-

them movement which rather outstays its welcome. The Chandos Anthem included a verse from Psalm 36 with some lively imagery referring to the crossing of the Red Sea. The loss of this is perhaps unfortunate, but it was really in the nature of a commentary and its omission leaves no hole in the text's coherence.

### No. 1: Let God arise

This movement, derived from the first chorus of the Chandos Anthem, falls into two sections: a common time opening ('Allegro ma non troppo' in the Chandos version, no speed indicated in Anthem 11B) followed by a faster triple-time section ('Allegro' in both versions) for the second half of the verse 'let them also that hate Him'. The material itself is excellent; the defiant chordal statements of the opening section resulting in the unrighteous being thrown down with fine rhetorical effect on 'be scatter'd', and then put to flight and confusion with the descending scale figures and cross-rhythms of the triple-time continuation. Handel re-arranged the second, triple time, section without substantial alteration in content, combining the quaver figures between different voice parts to give added strength and rendering the hemiola rhythms in staccato minims rather than crotchets and rests (Ex. 11).

**Ex. 11**

Anthem HA No. 2

Anthem NB No. 1

Original notation:

flee be---fore Him, flee, flee, flee be--fore Him

fly be---fore Him, fly, fly, fly be-fore Him fly be-fore Him

Handel replaced the Chandos Anthem/Prayer Book text "flee before Him" with "fly before Him" throughout: was this amendment accidental, or had someone pointed out to Handel the possible confusion



54 The cut also removed a homophonic passage in which the text had received rather dubious syllabic treatment, bars 25-6 of the Chandos Anthem.

55 HG Vol. 46A, p. 8 (Numbering of movements follows HHA 1/6).

56 HG Vol. 38, p. 100 (Numbering of movements follows Novello Edition, ed. Watkins Shaw).

57 HG Vol. 46A, p. 43

58 To this list may be added Handel's division of the orchestral bass line, which follows that of the Chandos Anthem: Bassoon & 'Cello/Organ & Double Bass.

between "flee" and "flea"?

The first part of the movement received more substantial revision. The original introduction served well enough in place of a separate Sinfonia, with a little strengthening of the bass part and the removal of a redundant bar in the echo passage immediately preceding the chorus entry. Handel recognised that the semiquaver tremolando representing 'scattered', although an excellent idea in itself and particularly effective on the orchestra, had been rather overdone in the Chandos Anthem: he shortened the choral section of the movement to remove this excess.<sup>54</sup> Table 7 shows where Handel's amendments occur, all of them effective in tightening up the drive of the movement.

Some of the movement's most striking ideas, derived immediately from the Chandos Anthem, originated from Handel's earlier compositions. The 'scattering of the enemies' at bars 22-3 uses material from the Birthday Ode for Queen Anne (No. 2, bars 78-9)<sup>55</sup> and from the Latin Psalm Dixit Dominus (No. 7, bars 56-61).<sup>56</sup> The Latin borrowing is particularly relevant, since the second part of the anthem movement ('Let them also that hate him') is also closely related to the following movement in Dixit Dominus ('Conquasabit', No. 7 bars 62 et seq.). The instrumental ritornello at the end of the movement seems to have been inspired by the final bars of No. 8 of the Birthday Ode.<sup>57</sup>

#### No. 2: Like as the smoke

From the Cannons setting of the same words (Anthem 11A, No. 3) two, relatively insignificant, features were preserved: the semiquaver runs associated with the word 'drive' and the cadence figures for "So shalt thou drive them away".<sup>58</sup> Otherwise all both thematically and formally, is new. The Chandos movement

Chapter 9 Table 7Anthem 11B: Adaptation of 'Let God arise' (No. 1)from Chandos Anthem 11A, No. 2

<u>Anthem 11B</u>	<u>Anthem 11A</u>	<u>Commentary</u>
(Bar Nos.)	(Bar Nos.)	
1-14	1-14	Harmonic bass added in bar 1; some simplification in bars 5-6. Anthem 11A bar 15 cut.
15-20	16-21	.
21		New, replacing 11A bars 22-26
22-31	27-36	
32		New, but partly based on material from 11A bars 37 and 39. Replaces 11A bars 37-39.
33-34	40-41	
35-103	42-110	Triple time <u>Allegro</u> section left intact.

59 The mid-point key centre of the movement is the  
relative major.



had been in triple time; Handel changed the metre for the Chapel Royal anthem, probably to introduce some variety following the triple-time ending to No. 1. This alteration tipped the balance in the opposite direction: Anthem 11B is dominated by quadruple/duple metres, but there is enough variety in speed and mood to compensate for this.

The Chandos Anthem setting 'Like as the smoke' was a continuous minor-key Tenor aria in binary form, with a swift return to the tonic<sup>59</sup> at the start of the second half of the text, 'like as wax melteth at the fire'. For the Chapel Royal version Handel took the idea a stage further and sliced the aria into two, producing a rather novel double movement. The first half ('like as the smoke') is given to the Bass soloist in F major, and the second half ('Like as the wax') to the Alto soloist in D minor. Pulse, metre and principal thematic material remain constant throughout, but the movement ends in a different key from that in which it started. The effect, with the change of voice and key half way, is very striking, comparable to a set of variations in which the composer decided halfway through to devote the rest of the piece to developing the possibilities of the theme in the minor mode. Both halves of the movement are complete in themselves: the Bass's section is a full binary aria, the Alto's is looser in structure and rather more discursive. The key-scheme of the Alto half begins with a piece of musical irony: the first modulation is to F major, and Handel introduced the ritornello theme momentarily in bars 65-8 as if a permanent return to F major was expected and the movement was, after all, to be in conventional binary form. Instead the music sets off towards G minor and A minor before returning to D minor at the close.

The musical representation of the text in the vocal parts

60 Handel omitted any reference to violas, even in the final ritornello, and so provided a trap for the unwary. No. 3 was one of the movements inserted into Chandos Anthem 11A in the Aylesford parts and Arnold's published edition. Although it appears to be a plausible Cannons piece, the movement's typical Alto/Bass combination and its indifferent contribution to the key scheme of the Chandos Anthem immediately arouses suspicion.

calls for some comment. The Bass solo is rather more operatic in style than most in Handel's church music. Although it is not a conventional 'rage' aria, the driving away of the enemies is vividly depicted using the full range of the voice to good effect (Ex. 12).

Ex. 12 (Andante)

(Bass solo)

Like as the Snake, like as the Snake, as the Snake va-ni-sheth

and later:

so shalt Thou drive them a-way, so shalt Thou drive them a-way. *adagio*

The Alto part, more constricted in range, presents the vision of the ungodly perishing at the presence of God in music which is less aggressive, more sinuous, but no less serious in tone. The Alto never sings the semiquaver figuration associated in the Bass part with 'drive them away', but this figuration is continually present in the background and generates some tension under the sustained voice part at bars 60-62. Handel's scoring, carefully specified, seems to be deliberately bottom-heavy at this point, and marvellously effective it is in performance.

### No. 3: O sing unto God

This short movement is by way of a relaxation: beatific contemplation as a contrast to the prophetic threats of the previous movement. The two soloists from that movement join together in a duet, but they do not dominate the music. Instead they are part of a richer texture interwoven with the orchestral parts. Over a primitive harmonic bass, the voices, violins<sup>60</sup> and oboe develop and extend the opening melody, with occasional assistance

- 61 Duet, 'Il fuggir, cara mia vita', HG Vol. 89, p.6.  
62 Aria, 'Ye fleeting Shades', HG Vol. 46B, p. 40  
63 Aria, 'Lead, Goddess', HG Vol. 18, p. 69

- 64 See supra, notes 10 and 38, and also Chapter 6,  
Music Example 7.

- 65 In the course of doing so, Handel introduced a set  
of consecutive fifths between viola and bass parts  
over the barline of 21-22, but these are not audible  
in the general busyness.

- 66 Handel did not label the parts at the start of the  
movement, but presumably the arrangement followed  
that of the first movement, with Alto 1 and Bass 1  
staves intended for Hughes and Wheely.



from the solo bassoon. The movement is in binary form, but the interest of the movement lies in its sonorities rather than its construction. The theme and its characteristic figuration became firmly embedded in Handel's imagination, for he re-used the idea twice in works composed over the following quarter century. It appears in the opera Arminio<sup>61</sup> and in Alceste,<sup>62</sup> the music for the latter surfacing finally in The Choice of Hercules.<sup>63</sup> In none of these movements was the verbal text similar in content to that of the anthem.

#### No. 4: Blessed be God

This movement was adapted from the final movement of the Chandos Anthem. It is a chorus which fits the 'Non nobis' cantus firmus<sup>64</sup> against a flowing bass and a number of lively "Hallelujah" figures. The spacious Chapel Royal arrangement with six vocal lines (as against four in the Chandos Anthem) allowed Handel some opportunity for filling in holes in the harmony,<sup>65</sup> but in general he preferred to dispose the voice parts with linear rather than harmonic objects in view. He doubled the voice parts in order to bring important strands of the texture to the foreground: in turn, Bass 1<sup>66</sup> helps out the Tenors, Alto 1<sup>66</sup> helps the Trebles and the Tenors strengthen Alto 2.

Handel altered the notation of the music in the course of the transfer, doubling the note values. The Chandos Anthem movement is barred in 'C' (4/4) time and the Chapel Royal movement in C (2/2) time, one bar of the Chandos movement becoming two bars in the later version. No obvious motive for the change comes to mind, though it may have been connected in some way with Handel's intentions about the speed of the music. In the Chandos Anthem Handel headed the movement 'Allegro', but changed this to 'Andante'.

Perhaps he thought that, if he gave the music an alla breve appearance, the musicians would know from experience how it should be treated: in the Chapel Royal anthem he did not add any speed indication as such.

Handel made two substantial cuts in the movement when he adapted the Chandos movement: see Table 8. These cuts reveal what Handel was prepared to sacrifice to the cause of tightening up the movement as a whole. The first one, after bar 31 of the Chapel Royal version, attenuates the cantus firmus in the Bass part to its first three steps only. Although this looks rather unsatisfactory on paper it usefully breaks up the theme just when its development was in danger of becoming predictable. The scale pattern is carried up harmonically into the Tenor part in bar 32, and the complete passage now serves to introduce the dominant entry in the Bass at bar 33. With the second cut Handel removed a passage which included some contrapuntal interest: bars 36-41 of the Chandos Anthem had presented the cantus firmus theme in stretto canon between the upper two voice parts, the only appearance of this device in the movement. It is curious that Handel did not wish to preserve this piece of ingenuity in the Chapel Royal version, though it is characteristic of the difference between the music he wrote for the two establishments that he should go for the broader, simpler effect in the Chapel Royal version rather than in the Chandos Anthem.

Chapter 9 Table 8

Anthem 11B:

Adaptation of 'Blessed be God' (No. 4)

from Anthem 11A, No. 8

<u>Anthem 11B</u>	<u>Anthem 11A</u>	<u>Commentary</u>
(Bar Nos.)	(Bar Nos.)	
1-31	1-16½	
	16½-20	Cut
32		Uses material extracted from Anthem 11A, bar 21.
33-36	22-23	
37-38		Compressed from 11A bars 24-25.
39-61	26-37½	Anthem 11A bar 33 simplified.
62-66	37½-39	Somewhat re-composed, but cantus firmus (11A soprano, bars 36-39) preserved, and also outline of basso continuo from 11A bars 38½-39.
	40-44	Cut
67-73	44½-47	Note values from 11A 46½-47 doubled proportionally.



Autograph

B.L. RM 20.g.4, f.21-37 (Lacking the final 18 bars of  
No. 4, but otherwise complete) 3 bin., 1 sheet, 1 bin

Watermark: Cb

Rastrography: 12-stave @2 31.5 Identical with the auto-  
graph of the A major Te Deum, see supra.

The gatherings are numbered in ink, possibly by Handel. The numberings confirm that f.33, which has the end of No. 3 on one side and blank staves on the other, is a separate sheet. The most likely explanation of this odd page is that, as in Anthem 5B, Handel worked out the first and last movements from the parent Chandos Anthem and then filled in the new inner movements: it so happened that these movements occupied an untidy number of sheets.

Assuming that Handel continued the last movement with much the same spacing as before, 1 unio (i.e. 2 sheets) has been lost from the end of the autograph. The missing bars can be restored with confidence from Copy A, which accurately reproduces many features of the autograph. It seems probable, from the evidence of this copy, that Handel did not finish the movement with either of his characteristic terminations, 'Fine' or 'S.D.G.'. Perhaps the Anthem was composed before the accompanying A Major Te Deum, which does have 'S.D.G.' at the end. The text of the 'lost' section of the autograph as found in many later copies, and in Chrysander's edition, contains some errors in the Bass, Alto and Bassoon parts. One problem arises with the word underlay in the Bass part at bars 63-65. The autograph probably looked something like Ex. 13a, generally interpreted in the copies as shown in Ex. 13b. This interpretation is surely incorrect: the choice of the '-lu-' syllable for the melisma is very uncharacteristic of Handel's treatment of this rather over-



67 Two movements of the Anthem were included in the Aylesford parts for Anthem 11A (See infra, Copy B). Unfortunately the copyist arranged the parts mainly to suit his own convenience, and they provide no further enlightenment as to Handel's own treatment of the bass line.

worked word. I suggest that his intention is represented by Ex. 13c, which matches the word-setting in the Alto and Tenor parts. (Ex. 13).

### Ex. 13

Ex. 13 shows three musical staves, each with a circled letter (a, b, c) and a '63' time signature. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The lyrics are written below the notes.

- Staff (a): *Halle-lu-jah*
- Staff (b): *Halle-lu-jah, Hal--le-lu--ja, Halle--lu-jah,*
- Staff (c): *Halle-lu-jah, Hal-le--lu-ja, Halle--lu--ja,*

Singers named:

No. 1: Alto 1 - Mr. Hughs; Bass 1 - Mr. Wheely

No. 2: Bass - Mr. Wheely; Alto - Mr. Hughs (at bar 50)

No. 3: Alto - Mr. Hughs; Bass - Mr. Wheely

In No. 1, the staves for Alto 2 and Bass 2 are labelled 'Chorus'. There are no names at the start of No. 4, but the layout of the staves is identical with No. 1. Two features of No. 1 have already been noted: the absence of a speed indication and Handel's preference for 'fly' in place of 'flee'.

Throughout the work Handel took some care over the instrumentation of the bass line, using separate staves to clarify his intentions. In No. 1 one stave is given to Bassoon and 'Cello, leaving a separate Basso Continuo part (unlabelled), presumably for Organ and Double Basses. The same arrangement is continued in No. 2, specific references this time being made to the Double Basses next to the Basso Continuo stave. In both movements Handel refers to Violoncello in the singular, obviously intending a soloist to play with the Bassoon. If there were any ripieno 'Cello players they presumably followed the Basso Continuo line:<sup>67</sup> there are no references to them, however, and it is perfectly possible

68 Compare also the single 'Cello clearly specified at  
the beginning of Handel's Peace Anthem (1749).  
See the Supplement Conditions of Performance,  
'String Instruments - the Bass Line and Continuo'.

that Handel's orchestra included one 'Cellist but two Double Basses.<sup>68</sup> One obvious inference from Handel's layout of the score is that the Continuo group might have consisted of Double Bass and Organ rather than 'Cello and Organ. At Bar 42 of No. 2, the bar of the Bass soloist's final cadence and the place where a cadenza would have occurred in an operatic aria, Handel treated the instrumental bass line exactly as we would expect in the theatre, silencing the Solo 'Cello/Bassoon part and leaving the accompaniment to the continuo stave. In Nos. 3 and 4 the Bassoon has a separate stave in the score, the 'Cello and Double Basses presumably following the continuo line.



69    None of the errors from the 'X' source of the Anthem  
are anticipated in MS A: compare my description of  
the 'X' source for the A major Te Deum.

Manuscript Copies

The A Major Te Deum was a companion work to this Anthem, and we might reasonably expect the two to appear together in copies. In the section of this Chapter dealing with the Te Deum I pointed out that several of the big 'library' manuscript collections included the Anthem but not the Te Deum. Other manuscripts present the two works together as a pair, but most of these are accounted for by the group of manuscripts designated 'X' in my description of the Te Deum copies. It seems that the corrupt source copy of the A Major Te Deum was accompanied by a no less corrupt text of this Anthem. Copies E - I of the Anthem are from the 'X' source and the defective readings they have in common include:<sup>69</sup>

No. 1 Bars 58-59: Violin 2 notes g', g', a', a'

No. 2 Bars 18 and 29: Rhythm of solo bass part incorrect

Bar 99: Viola notes a', g', f', in various rhythms

No. 3 Bar 11: Basso continuo, 4th note C

A Mp Henry Watson Music Library MS 130 Hd4 v.47(2)

Score c. 1725-30

The characteristics of this MS have already been described: see Anthem 5B MS A and A Major Te Deum MS A. This anthem is in the same hand as the rest of the volume and includes singers' names. An accurate source.

B US - Cu MS 437, Vols. 2, 3, 5, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20 & 22.

Parts, vocal and instrumental, for movements 2 and 3.

Aylesford Collection.

c. 1740-1745

Copyist: S2

Watermark: Ch

The two movements are inserted into a set of parts for An-

70 Compare the similar situation with Anthem 6B, where Handel's later setting of 'Now when I think there-  
upon' appears as an alternative in the Aylesford parts,, but, the score of the alternative movement is a separate MS in one of the Aylesford mixed volumes. See Chapter 8, Note 54 .

them 11A: No. 2 appears after the Cannons setting of the same text and No. 3 after 'Let the Righteous be glad'. The intention of this arrangement seems to have been to provide an omnibus version of the anthem, supplementing the Chandos movements with the complete movements from the Chapel Royal anthem which were totally new settings. I have not been able to trace the Aylesford source score. It is possible that this score contained all of the movements found in the parts, but rather more likely that a main score, of the Chandos Anthem only, was supplemented by separate scores of the two Chapel Royal movements.<sup>70</sup>

The copyist extracted the parts from the score according to his own understanding of the practices of the 1740's, but nevertheless, a few features of these parts are worth noting. The Alto solo music is given in the treble clef in the Alto part, but in the alto clef in the Organo part. In No. 2, Handel had shown Violin 2 and Viola parts on the same stave: the copyist reproduced Handel's Viola music exactly for 'Violino Terzo' in the treble clef. There is a single partbook for 'Violoncello & Bassone': in No. 2 this follows Handel's allocation of the bass line, but in No. 3 it contains only the Bassoon solo music. The editorial Oboe 2 part is identical with Oboe 1.

C B.L. Egerton MS 2911, f.22-48 (Original pagination 43-95)

Granville Collection.

Score, c. 1740.

Copyist: S1

Watermark: C'f

Rastrography: 16-stave ② 30.5

A 'library' MS, derived from the autograph independently of the other copies. The copyist did not include the singers' names, but his music text is generally accurate and can be used, in conjunction with Copy A, to establish a good text of that part of the last movement which is missing from the autograph.



71 E'a paper was used for p. 107-123. Thereafter the  
remaining sheets have only the countermark 'IV'.

D Cfm MS 811 p. 107-136. Lennard Collection, Vol. 28;

label on spine reads 'Anthems Vol II'.

Score, c. 1740-1745

Copyist: J.C. Smith senior

Watermark: E'a and unidentified watermark.<sup>71</sup>

Rastrography: 20-stave @2 30.5

Since Smith was Handel's principal copyist and musical assistant, it is tempting to regard copies in his hand as being faithful to the original, if not necessarily consistently careful over details. Such trust is misplaced in the case of this copy. Smith's main thought appears to have been to fit the anthem somehow into the given number of 20-stave pages. Wherever Handel's music would not fit the format, Smith redistributed or transferred the parts. In the first and last movements Handel's 12-stave layout was compressed into 10 staves, with two systems to the page: the bass parts, vocal and orchestral, suffered in the process. In the first movement, for example, the solo and chorus Bass parts were amalgamated at bars 20-21, and at bars 28-30 the 'Cello, Bassoon and Viola parts were cobbled together on the Viola stave. Handel's careful specification of the orchestral bass parts in No. 2 using two staves is only intermittently observed, and most of the Bassoon solo part is lost from No. 3. Reference will be made to this copy again in connection with the early printed editions.

E B.L. Add. MS 29998, f.29v-51 (Original pagination 56-99)

Score, c. 1725-1730, formerly the property of Thomas Barnard.

The characteristics of this MS have already been described: see A Major Te Deum MS G. The two works were copied as one unit by the same scribe, from source 'X'. Handel's singers' names are

included.

F Collection of Gerald Coke, Bentley, Hants. The 'Rimbault'  
MS, p. 1-48. Score, c. 1725-1730

The characteristics of this MS have already been described:  
see A major Te Deum, MS I. The two works were copied by the same  
scribe, from source 'X'. This MS is therefore very similar to  
MS E, just described, but the Anthem now appears before the Te  
Deum. No great significance need be attached to the change of  
order. Although produced at the same time, the copies of the An-  
them and the Te Deum in the 'Rimbault' MS were originally produced  
on independent gatherings of paper.

G US - NBu M2038.H14A5, Vol. 1 (Appendix), p.63-118  
Wynn Collection. Score, c. 1770

Once again the Anthem is paired with the A major Te Deum and  
derived from source 'X': see Copy L of the Te Deum. The copyist  
(S10) also probably wrote the index to the volume, which describes  
the anthem as 'Let God arise/Transposed and altered for the  
King's Chappell'.

H Collection of Gerald Coke, Bentley, Hants.  
Score, dated 1770.

Copyist: Joseph Fish

Watermark: C (Two types, one of them possibly Cr.)

Rastrography: 12-stave ?@12 250

Bound with the A major Te Deum, MS M. In spite of the fact  
that the two MSS were produced by different copyists, they seem  
to have been produced together and they have identical rastra.  
The anthem is copied from MS G. An extra bar was later inserted  
in the middle of bar 14 of No. 1, apparently in an attempt to  
make this conform to the parallel passage in Anthem 11A.

I Lcm MS 2254, f.29-48. Score, of Nos. 2 and 3 only,  
entitled 'Songs in Let God Arise'. Derived from the 'X'  
source and probably copied in the 1760's.



- 72 See South & Humphries: Handel, p. 149
- 73 This was the first publication of a Chapel Royal Anthem from the period covered by this dissertation. The Utrecht canticles and various Chapel Royal works from George II's reign had, of course, been published before 1784.
- 74 The Lennard Collection was probably the property of the publisher in the 1780's. See Appendix 8.
- 75 HG, vol. 35, p. (i) (1871)

First Printed Editions

- 1        The Complete Score of Ten Anthems Composed Chiefly  
          for the Chapel of his Grace the late James Duke of  
          Chandos by G.F. Handel ... London Printed by  
          Wright and Wilkinson, Successors to Mr. Walsh, &c (1784)<sup>72</sup>  
          Vol. III, .p.416-446 ('Anthem X')

This was the only Chapel Royal anthem included in the three-volume publication.<sup>73</sup> The nine Chandos Anthems which accompanied it did not include Anthem 11A. The presence of this single Chapel Royal work can be readily explained: the anthem volumes from the Lennard Collection were the source for the printed edition.<sup>74</sup> On close inspection of MS D and other anthems in the Lennard volumes, it is easy to identify the additional figurings which were added to the Basso Continuo part by whoever prepared the printer's copy. The mistakes and re-arrangements from MS D were therefore carried forward into the printed edition. Nearly a century later Chrysander, in the preface to his own edition of the Anthem,<sup>75</sup> remarked that it had 'hitherto been printed only in an imperfect form'. Many of the imperfections are directly attributable to Smith's presentation of the Anthem in the source MS.

- 2        ANTHEM, In Score, Composed at Cannons, For his Grace  
          the DUKE of CHANDOS Between the Year's 1718 & 1720.  
          By G.F. HANDEL  
          Arnold's Edition, Nos. 73-74 (c. 1790)  
          ('ANTHEM II')

Arnold's edition was based on the previous publication by Wright and Wilkinson and continues the errors and oddities of that edition. The title page was used for each of the 12 anthems published by Arnold: its wording seems to have been based on the

76 The dates were probably derived from Mainwaring:  
Memoirs, p. 95-96 and p. 154.

77 Burney: Commemoration, Sketch, .p., 45-46

78 They share some mistakes, such as the omission of  
the oboe part in bars 6½-7½ of No. 3, which could  
hardly have arisen accidentally from independent  
sources.

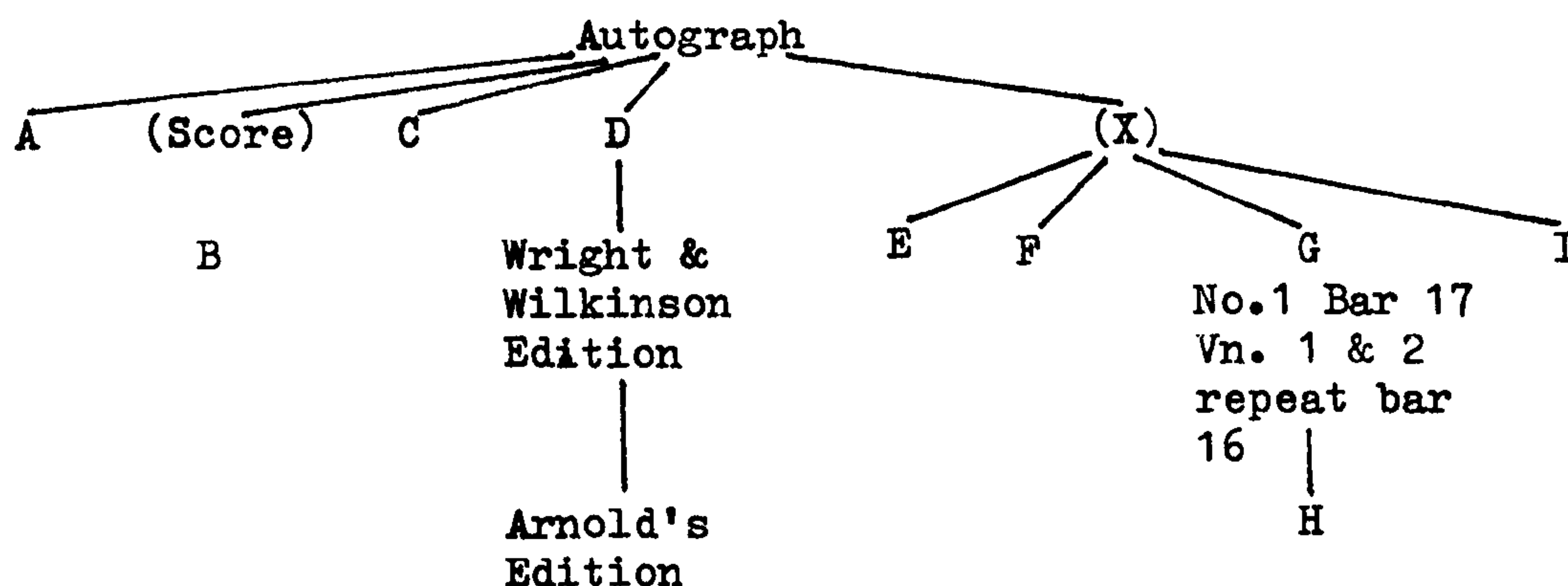
79 See MS B, supra.

title page to Wright and Wilkinson's publication.<sup>76</sup> Arnold had slightly less excuse than the previous publishers for confounding Chandos Anthems with Chapel Royal Anthems: between the two editions had appeared Burney's work-list of Handel's works, which included references to the Chapel Royal version.<sup>77</sup>

- 3 Title as for No. 2. Arnold's Edition Nos. 73-74  
(c. 1790) 'Anthem III', p. 18-26, 39-40.

Unlike Wright and Wilkinson, Arnold included Anthem 11A in his edition. Into this Anthem were inserted Nos. 2 and 3 of Anthem 11B, the former after the Chandos Anthem setting of the same words and the latter after the chorus 'O sing unto God'. The music texts of the two inserted movements are similar to those in Arnold's immediately preceding edition of the Chapel Royal anthem,<sup>78</sup> from which they were probably derived. The coincidence between Arnold's insertions and those in the Aylesford sources of Anthem 11A<sup>79</sup> is remarkable, however, and the possibility that Arnold's edition of this anthem was in some way indebted to the lost Aylesford score of the Chandos Anthem can not be ruled out completely.

#### Relationship of Sources





CHAPTER TEN1727 AND BEYOND

	page
1727 - Changes at Court and in the Chapel Royal	393
1727 - Handel's Naturalisation	395
Handel and the Chapel Royal during the Reign of King George II	398
The Chapel Royal and Handel's Oratorios	405
Later Performances of Handel's Chapel Royal Music	411

1     CCB, p. 50-51

2     See Appendix 5, B49-B53. Accounts were probably made up to the nominal date of June 30 to mark the end of the reign, so that arrears of pay could be calculated. The voices of the discharged choristers had probably broken earlier, and they could not have appeared as trebles at the Coronation.

3     Bisse: Hereford Sermon

## 1727 AND BEYOND

1727 - Changes at Court and in the Chapel Royal

1727 proved to be a year of changes for the Chapel Royal. The death of the King on his way to Hanover on 11 June generated a certain amount of routine administrative activity. The Gentlemen, in common with other employees of the court, had to be sworn into their places afresh and special arrangements had to be made for the aged absentees, such as John Gostling, who could not come up to London for the purpose.<sup>1</sup> The establishment was tidied up: no less than five boys were discharged from the Chapel during June 1727.<sup>2</sup> The new King had, as Prince of Wales, attended the Chapel Royal regularly since 1720: there was no reason to fear that the Chapel and its music would receive less royal support than in his father's reign. There was, indeed, no break in the continuity of the routine services. The Gentlemen of the Chapel received additional public attention and financial rewards as a result of their participation in the Coronation service, but unusual circumstances denied them the rewards accruing from a state funeral: George I was buried in Germany.

The life of the Chapel was probably more closely affected by another death only two months after the King's: that of William Croft. There is a hint that Croft had not been in perfect health for some time. Thomas Bisse, in a dedicationary epistle to Croft accompanying the publication of the sermon preached at the Three Choirs' meeting in September 1726, wrote thus:

'I will add my request to you, not to continue too hard a student; that so the present age may long enjoy you in person, as posterity will in your works'.<sup>3</sup>

Nevertheless, Croft seems to have been active up to a short time

4 Dated autograph, B.L. Add. MS 17861.

See Chapter 7, Note 30, supra.

5 WAI, entry sub 22 July 1727

6 Westminster Abbey and St. James's are relatively close together: we may believe that Croft could just manage to do duty at both on the same day when necessary. Given 18-century conditions, however, St. Paul's Cathedral was out of range. It would have been difficult for Greene to have taken on the post of Master of the Children and combined this with his duties at St. Paul's. When Greene was recommended as Croft's successor as Organist of the Chapel Royal, Gibson predictably made 'some difficulty about Mr. Green's having another Post' (P.R.O. SP 36/3(2), f.3-4)

7 NCB, p. 31



before his death. His last anthem, Give the King thy judgements, was completed on 13 July.<sup>4</sup> On 22 July he received an advance of six guineas from his salary as organist of Westminster Abbey;<sup>5</sup> this no doubt financed a convalescent trip to Bath, where he died on 14 August. Croft, in addition to being the Chapel's foremost native-born composer, was at the centre of the institutional framework, holding the offices of Compser, Organist and Master of the Children at the Chapel Royal as well as the post of Organist at Westminster Abbey. Maurice Greene was Croft's obvious successor, but it is doubtful that Greene could have taken on all of Croft's former offices in the Chapel unless he first gave up his post at St. Paul's.<sup>6</sup> In the event, the Chapel Royal offices were divided; on 4 September Greene was appointed Organist and Composer of the Chapel Royal and Bernard Gates was made Master of the Children.<sup>7</sup> Later in the month, John Robinson succeeded to Croft's place at Westminster Abbey.

The distribution and timing of these appointments is of some importance. For the first time in the eighteenth century the leading musician at the centre of the life of the Chapel did not combine all three principal offices. The appointment of Gates as Master of the Boys was to have momentous consequences. The fact that he had control of this part of the Chapel's life also opened up the possibility of friction in the future between himself and Greene. The date of the Chapel Royal appointments does not suggest an undue or deliberate delay: a fortnight is, in fact, quite a short period for the normal administrative process to operate, especially in view of the fact that the people involved in the decision (most particularly, of course, the Dean of the Chapel) had the preparations for the Coronation on their minds at the same time.

- 8 The official records relating to Handel's naturalisation are reprinted in Deutsch: Handel, p.202-205. The Naturalisation Bill including Handel's name was signed by the King on 20 February 1726/7.
- 9 The most detailed reports in the newspapers for February 18-21 (and the weekly papers dated February 25) state only that the King gave his assent to 'two Private Bills'.
- 10 This suggestion, made by Dr. H. Diack Johnstone, is published and elaborated in Fiske: Theatre Music, p. 174-5. In fairness to Dr. Johnstone, I would point out that the P.R.O. copy of the warrant for Handel's 1723 appointment was not available when he prepared the relevant biographical section of The Life and Work of Maurice Greene (diss. Oxford University, 1967)

1727 - Handel's naturalisation

Handel's decision to adopt British citizenship in February 1727, just before his 42nd birthday,<sup>8</sup> has already been referred to in Chapter 7. As explained there, it is unlikely that Handel took this step foreseeing the King's death and in order to secure his pensions under the new reign: the King was healthy when he signed Handel's Private Bill. Other reasons for Handel's decision must now be considered. A second hypothesis might be that, in taking British nationality, Handel was trying to make some political point, to ingratiate himself with the London opera patrons and to shuffle off the 'German' image. This also must be dismissed. His naturalisation took place with as little publicity as his Chapel Royal appointment had done four years before: there is no mention of it at all in the newspapers,<sup>9</sup> who would surely have registered some comment if it had been regarded as a matter of prime public concern. Handel did not drop any of his former German connections, nor was such a self-denying stance required in the next reign: George II was as regular a visitor to Hanover as his father had been.

It has been suggested that Handel's naturalisation was motivated by a desire to succeed Croft at the Chapel Royal.<sup>10</sup> If Croft was showing signs of ill-health in the autumn of 1726, it may be argued in support of this case that Handel, while he could not have foreseen the imminence of the King's death, might have predicted Croft's. As a reason for Handel's naturalisation, however, this also will not stand scrutiny. Handel never participated in the day-to-day life of the Chapel and probably never had any desire to do so. He was attracted to providing the Chapel with music for special occasions, but not to a full-time career in church music. He had rejected this path in Halle, and there



11 The Master of the Boys seems to have occupied the house where the choristers lodged, and was presumably responsible for supervising their day-to-day life: a settled married life seems to have been a tacitly understood qualification for the post.

12 There is admittedly a certain element of reading history backwards in this suggestion. Nevertheless, with the Court behind him, Handel's future in London seemed secure in 1727. Only in 1745-6, when Hanoverian security was threatened, might Handel have had doubts as to the wisdom of his decision.

13 The last-minute addition of Handel's name to another petition might suggest that he took the decision quite suddenly.



is no evidence that he ever went back on his decision. The financial rewards to be gained from the Chapel Royal posts were so slight that it was not in Handel's interest to pursue them. Following his Chapel Royal appointment in 1723 Handel had received an additional £200 per year in return for very light duties. An Organist or Composer on the normal establishment of the Chapel received less than half of this amount and had to be in attendance week by week for half of the year. If he accumulated two of Croft's posts Handel could perhaps have added nearly another £200 to his income, but the additional labour involved was out of proportion with his normal expectations. It is rather unlikely that Handel would have been able to take over more than one of Croft's offices, since he already held one well-paid post as Composer and was probably not a suitable candidate for Master of the Boys,<sup>11</sup> so the additional salary would only have been of the order of £73, an amount of little significance compared with Handel's other income. The Chapel Royal option was not one which fitted in with Handel's theatre-based career and Handel, used to being his own master, would have been the first to realise this: the prospect of having to manage Bishop Gibson in addition to the opera singers was not one to be seriously contemplated.

The remaining explanation for Handel's decision to take British nationality is much more prosaic. However uncertain the future of the Royal Academy appeared in 1727, Handel had decided to settle in London for life<sup>12</sup> and it was logical to back up this decision by pursuing the appropriate legal status. There may have been some pressing personal motive in the background, such as the need to hold money or property from which an alien would have been debarred.<sup>13</sup> There was indeed political and social benefit to be gained at court by becoming 'English', but this

- 14 It will be remembered that Croft, not Handel, provided the music for the 1714 Coronation: see Chapter 6, Note 7 .
- 15 I have described the 1727 Coronation Service, and Handel's contribution to it, in Burrows: Coronation.
- 16 All of the <sup>s</sup>coloists named on Handel's autographs of the Coronation Anthems (B.L. RM 20. h.5) ~~were~~ Chapel Royal Gentlemen.
- 17 William Boyce's description in 1761 (P.R.O. LC 2/32)

does not seem to have been Handel's primary consideration.

As already noted in Chapter 7, the timing of Handel's naturalisation had one important consequence: it allowed him to contribute to the Coronation service in October 1727. In spite of his Chapel Royal office, this privilege might well have been denied to Handel if he had not taken up British citizenship in advance.<sup>14</sup> The Coronation proved to be a landmark in Handel's association with the Chapel.<sup>15</sup> It was an event of major social and musical significance. The service was well attended, and Handel's music left its mark on those present. As tradition demanded, the Chapel Royal was at the centre of events,<sup>16</sup> but they formed the core of a much larger body of performers. It was as 'the first Grand Musical Performance' that this event was remembered.<sup>17</sup> Handel successfully put together the vocal and instrumental resources of the court with those of the theatre, on a scale which was new to the listeners. The experience moulded Handel's outlook when he produced English oratorio in the theatre five years later: his first performances were promoted on the recollection of the Coronation music.

- 18 LEP, November 1-4; similar reports appeared in other papers. The King had returned to St. James's on October 29, a day before the Royal Birthday celebrations. Greene's Anthem was rehearsed in the Chapel Royal on October 23 and November 1 (LJ October 25, DJ October 31).
- 19 See infra, Note 41, and Appendix 14.



## Handel and the Chapel Royal

### during the reign of King George II

The changes at the Chapel Royal during 1727 affected Handel, though not immediately. The pattern of events which followed George I's accession in 1714 was repeated almost exactly after his son's accession in 1727. In September/October 1714 Handel's music was performed before the King in the Chapel Royal, but for the following six years it was Croft who provided the music for special court services: in October 1727 Handel's music was performed at the Coronation, but during the succeeding six years it was Maurice Greene who provided the Chapel Royal music for special occasions.

Between 1722 and 1726 Handel's main duty had been to provide music for the Chapel Royal service following the King's return to London from Hanover. King George II did not visit his Electorate until 1729. When he returned in September of that year the Court remained in its summer residence at Kensington and the Chapel Royal celebration was delayed until November 2nd, the first Sunday after the Court's return to St. James's:

On Sunday last (being the first Sunday after the Court's Removal from Kensington to St. James's) the new Anthem, composed by Mr. Green, was sung before their Majesties in the Royal Chappel at St. James's.<sup>18</sup>

Greene provided the music for similar services celebrating the King's return from Hanover regularly throughout the reign, with the single exception of 1743 when his return was associated with the Dettingen victory.<sup>19</sup> Neither Handel's Chapel Royal appointment nor his naturalisation maintained him in the musical niche which he had carved for himself in the Chapel Royal at the end of the previous reign. Either Handel withdrew from his duties, or

20 Hawkins: History, Vol. ii, p. 879, 884;

Burney: History, vol. ii, p. 489.

Greene forced him out. As was the case in 1715, there is insufficient evidence to enable us to decide whether the pressures which dissociated Handel from the Chapel in 1729 were primarily political, musical, institutional or personal.

Nevertheless, something must be said about Handel's relationship with Greene, since it may have critically affected Handel's association with the Chapel during the period after 1727. A full investigation of this matter is beyond the scope of the present study; what follows is no more than a summary of my own conclusions based on the limited circumstantial evidence available.

Both Burney and Hawkins, writing half a century after the event, explicitly state that there was some animosity between the two composers.<sup>20</sup> Their testimony may be regarded with caution in the absence of supporting contemporary evidence, but it need not be dismissed. The principal interests of Handel and Greene lay within different areas of London's musical life, but both were directly involved with the Chapel Royal, so it is appropriate to chart their paths in relation to the Chapel. For reasons already stated in this chapter, it is unlikely that Greene's appointment as Composer to the Chapel Royal provoked Handel's jealousy. In my opinion, Handel never wanted that particular post and I doubt whether there was any serious animosity between the two during the 1720's, although Greene did receive two niggling setbacks which might have fuelled later mistrust. The Chapel Royal service for which Greene provided the music in 1721 yielded him only limited benefits: his music was well received at the time, but in the long term Croft's withdrawal only opened the door to Handel for the rest of the reign. In 1727 Greene, newly appointed as Composer to the Chapel, received no recognition at the Coronation. The fact that Greene's appointment was made only a month before



21 'that wretched little crooked ill natured insignificant writer Player and musician the late Dr. Green Organist and Composer to King George II. who forbad his composing the Anthems at his Coronation ... and ordered that G.F. Hendel should ... have that great honour'. See Smith: George III. The King's copy of 'Mainwaring' was lost during the Second World War, but from the facsimile provided in Smith's article there seems no doubt that this annotation was made by the King.

22 The singers that Handel had engaged for the new season began to arrive in London at the end of September (CJ, September 20). Presumably some of October was spent in rehearsals; a concert was given before the Royal Family at Kensington by Handel and some of the opera company on October 10 (Deutsch: Handel, p. 245). By the time the King heard Greene's New Anthem on November 2, Handel was probably at work on the composition of Lotario.

23 See Hawkins: History, p. 862, 884 and Lindgren: Noises. I am suspicious of Hawkins' date (p. 884) of 1728 for the first performance of the madrigal. His version of the Academy's origins (Hawkins: Account and History, p. 805) certainly seems to be wrong: on the evidence of B.L. Add. MS 11732 the first meeting of the Academy of Vocal Music was in 1725/6 and the original membership, which did not include Needler, was based on the three London choirs.



the Coronation is hardly relevant, for nothing is known of Handel's music for the Coronation until a fortnight after Greene's appointment. Perhaps, as George III's partisan commentary on the Coronation music suggests,<sup>21</sup> Greene's claim to contribute to the Coronation was rebuffed by the King himself.

By 1729, however, Greene had reversed his previous ill-fortune by establishing his right to compose the music for the Chapel Royal services celebrating the King's return from Hanover, a task which had formerly been Handel's perquisite. Handel may have been offended by this, but not necessarily: in the autumn of 1729 his energies were probably fully absorbed in sorting out the affairs of the Royal Academy.<sup>22</sup> Provided his Chapel Royal pension continued, Handel was probably content to allow Greene to provide the music. This in itself might have added to Greene's eventual sense of grievance: Handel was well rewarded for a Chapel Royal sinecure while Greene did all of the work for a considerably smaller salary.

To make sense of the relationship between Handel and Greene we have, I suggest, to look at the general division of London's musical life in the 1730's. Once again there is a parallel with the previous reign. In 1717 the rift between the King and the Prince of Wales shut the opera house: in the 1730's a similar family division produced two rival opera companies. The division in the opera world was mirrored, and indeed preceded, by a division among the singers of the London choirs. Matters came to a head at the Academy of Vocal Musick in the controversy over the authorship of the Lotti madrigal 'In una siepe ombrosa'.<sup>23</sup> By supporting Bononcini here, Greene may have aligned himself with Handel's operatic rivals. This in itself would hardly have provoked a reaction from Handel, since Greene was not a force to be

- 24 I am pleased to discover that Professor Lindgren (loc. cit. p. 567-9) has arrived at a similar conclusion independently; the suggestion that the actions of Greene and Gates have to be seen in the context of the domestic politics of the London choirmen is, however, my own.
- 25 Hawkins: History, p. 884. It is apparent from Add. MS 11732 that the first meeting of the Academy of Ancient Music took place in May 1731. The emphasis on 'Ancient' music was intended to prevent further controversies about contemporary music, but the word-books for the Academy's later performances show that this self-imposed restriction did not last long. If Hawkins is to be believed, this restriction did not achieve its object in any case: Gates and the Chapel Royal boys left in 1734 (History, p. 885)
- 26 It is significant that the Academy programme appeared in the 'news' section of contemporary newspapers, and not as a concert advertisement. I discovered the programme in LEP January 14-16 (See Burrows: Gethin, p. 1006) and Lindgren (loc. cit., p. 567) quotes a similar report from DJ, January 16.
- 27 See Appendix 4.
- 28 The only Steward in the list for 1730/1 who was directly associated with the musical world was Humphrey wyrley, presumably the same man as 'Mr. Humphrey wyrley Birch' who joined the Academy of Vocal Music on December 29 1726. wyrley seems to have been an enthusiast for English church music, and in particular Croft's: see Hawkins: History, p. 796. The Academy performance was probably engineered as some sort of final rehearsal for the Sons of the Clergy service, in addition to being one stage in the diplomatic battle against Greene: compare the similar performance/rehearsal in 1733/4 recorded in the Earl of Egmont's diary (Deutsch: Handel, p. 358)



reckoned with in the operatic world. In all probability, the original bad blood was not between Handel and Greene, but between Greene and Bernard Gates.<sup>24</sup> This division was a dual one: it ranged the Chapel Royal Composer against the Master of the Chapel Royal Boys, and it generated a division of loyalties between the Gentlemen whose partial allegiance was to St. Paul's (where Greene was organist) and those associated with Westminster Abbey (where Gates was a leading member of the choir). Greene removed the support of himself and the St. Paul's choristers from the Academy, which re-formed as the Academy of Ancient Music.<sup>25</sup>

All the evidence suggests that Gates used two weapons to put Greene down: his own Chapel Royal position and Handel's music. In January 1730/1, at a crucial stage in the Lotti madrigal controversy and before Greene's departure, Gates was responsible for a performance at the Academy which included the madrigal (attributed to Lotti) and Handel's Utrecht canticles.<sup>26</sup> The canticles were introduced a month later into the programme of the Sons of the Clergy Festival Service, which took place in Greene's 'territory' at St. Paul's. The Festival services had previously been one of the main platforms for Greene's church music.<sup>27</sup> Greene could hardly have objected to Handel's music without seeming petty. The musical programme for the Service was presumably drawn up by the Stewards in some sort of consultation with the performers:<sup>28</sup> although we may detect the hand of Gates behind the inclusion of Handel's music, there is no reason to suspect that the composer himself was involved.

A year later Gates promoted Handel's music again with private performances of Esther by the Chapel Royal boys: these performances are now a familiar part of the history of Handel's

- 29 See Dean: Oratorios, p. 203-207
- 30 Three elements contributed to the significance of the wedding. Socially it was important because it was the first Royal Wedding for half a century. Politically it was important for the diplomatic implications associated with the marriage: Anne was originally matched with the eldest son of Friedrich William of Prussia, but shifts in political allegiances prevented this and the new matrimonial arrangements reflected England's current political alliances. Thirdly, the marriage of an eldest daughter was traditionally attended by lavish expense. The background to this stretches back to the Feudal Aids: the three Aids allowed to a Lord in Magna Carta were for personal Ransom, Knighting of the Eldest Son and Marriage of the Eldest Daughter. No doubt it suited the tone of the Hanoverian family that Anne's wedding was more grand than that of the Prince of Wales two years later, but the reasons behind the difference were traditional rather than personal.
- 31 The building, and the musical arrangements for the service, are described in the Supplement: Conditions of Performance.
- 32 LEP, October 13-16 1733
- 33 BBEP October 20 announced that the anthem had been composed. Greene's wedding Anthem (Blessed are all they that fear the Lord) survives in the composer's autograph (Cb MS Mus.d.46) and in an early copy in the hand of William Boyce (B.L. Add.MS.17859).
- 34 DPB October 27
- 35 SJEP October 27-30: 'The musick to be performed in the Royal Chapel at the Solemnity of the Princess Royal's Marriage, is now composing by Mr. Handel.' The text of Handel's anthem was printed in several newspapers dated November 3-6.
- 36 SJEP November 3-6
- 37 The bridegroom was taken ill soon after his arrival in London on November 7, the wedding was deferred, and it finally took place on 14 March 1734. In addition to hearing Handel's music at the wedding, the royal family had attended the first performance of Il Parnasso in Festa on the previous evening.
- 38 It will be remembered that Princess Anne was a pupil of Handel's: see Chapter 7. After the death of George I the Princesses had their own establishment, which was normally listed in Chamberlayne's magnae Britanniae Notitia. Handel's name appears in the establishment list for the Princesses Anne, Amelia and Caroline.
- 39 P.R.O. LC5/19, p. 235. The payment (£13. 12. 3) presumably covers copying fees only.



oratorios.<sup>29</sup> Gates' actions need not, in themselves, have resulted in an alienation between the two composers, although Greene may have been rather jealous of the successful employment of his Chapel Royal forces in the theatre performances which followed. At this stage Greene may have had cause for irritation with Handel, but his main opponent was still Gates. The situation was radically changed in 1733 by the circumstances surrounding the music for the wedding of Princess Anne, George II's eldest daughter. The wedding was planned from the start as a major court event.<sup>30</sup> The otherwise disused French Chapel at St. James's was pressed into service: this was a convenient arrangement, since the specially-constructed furnishings and decorations for the wedding took a considerable time to build.<sup>31</sup> The Dean of the Chapel Royal was responsible for the service itself<sup>32</sup> and Greene, naturally, set to work on an anthem for the ceremony.<sup>33</sup> A rehearsal of Greene's anthem was planned for 27 October 1733,<sup>34</sup> but the announcement of this rehearsal was followed almost immediately by a second announcement that Handel was composing the music for the wedding.<sup>35</sup> Handel's Wedding Anthem, This is the Day, was rehearsed before the Royal Family on 5 November<sup>36</sup> and performed at the wedding ceremony the following March.<sup>37</sup>

As our previous experience might lead us to expect, the forces which led to the substitution of Handel's music for Greene's are hidden from us. It seems probable that the King, the Queen or the Princess herself<sup>38</sup> requested Handel to take charge of the wedding music, in which case Greene's supporters may have felt it impossible to help him. If Greene had made some attempt to assert his own rights, this might well have provoked a supercilious reaction from Handel. Even though Greene was paid for his unperformed wedding anthem,<sup>39</sup> he must have felt some griev-

40 It is relevant here to draw attention to Burney's report of Handel dismissing the idea that he should set Pope's Descend ye Mine and sing, on the grounds that Greene had already set the text for his Cambridge Doctorate: see Commemoration, Sketch, p. 33.

Handel's words, if correctly reported, must have been spoken after 1730. It is suspicious that Handel's own interest in setting English odes for his theatre performances did not begin until after Greene's appointment as Master of the King's Musick.

41 The evidence for this comes from the lists of Travelling Charges. See Appendix 9 for a list of the sources.

ance against Handel: the victory of influence which Greene had won in 1729 was now reversed again. It is not known whether Greene played the organ at the wedding service, though this should surely have been one of his duties.

We may guess that Greene and Handel lived in a state of distant mutual mistrust after the contretemps over the Wedding. Greene probably felt that his status was somewhat restored when he gained the post of Master of the King's Musick in 1735 on the death of John Eccles, thereby accumulating all of the major court appointments available to a musician simultaneously. This gave Greene a new outlet for his talents in the composition and performance of the Odes for the Court Festivals at the New Year and the King's Birthday. Perhaps Handel had hoped to gain this post, which was worth another £200 per year.<sup>40</sup> In the Chapel Royal a new pattern emerged, presumably with Greene's acquiescence if not his agreement. Handel composed the music for services closely concerning the royal family (Royal Weddings in 1736 & 1740, the Queen's funeral in 1737) and for significant national celebrations (Dettingen victory, 1743, and the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1749): Greene composed the music to celebrate the King's returns from Hanover.

The full Chapel Royal attended the King to his summer residences at Hampton Court and Kensington for the last time in 1737. Thereafter, the travelling Chapel Royal establishment numbered only about a dozen - the Priests and the Officers of the Vestry.<sup>41</sup> Perhaps this may be taken as evidence that Queen Caroline had been responsible for the encouragement of the musical side of the Chapel's life: left as a widower with his children growing up and leaving him, King George II lacked the incentive to keep up the previous level of activity. There is no evi-



42 A single Thanksgiving Prayer was published in connection with the Dettingen victory and appointed to be read in all churches on Sunday 17 July, on which day Handel began the composition of the Dettingen Te Deum. The expected complete liturgy for a Thanksgiving never followed, however, and there was no official Thanksgiving Day. The King did not return until mid-November and, after many delays, Handel's music was eventually performed before the King at the appropriate Chapel Royal service on 27 November. Handel was probably not alone in expecting a full national Thanksgiving.

43 In 1749, a complete liturgy for the Thanksgiving Day was published. At the early stages of preparations for the day, some newspapers were expecting a royal service at St. Paul's: see Burrows: Peace Anthem.

44 See supra, Chapter 6, Note 16



dence that the regular attendance of the Chapel musicians at St. James's was in any way diminished during the 1740's, however.

The political and military activity of that decade brought Thanksgiving services to the fore again and Handel's last period of association with the Chapel mirrors the events of his first years in London. He had made his mark in 1712/3 with music for the Peace of Utrecht and his last Chapel Royal work, 36 years later, was for the Thanksgiving celebrating the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. The scoring and style of the Dettingen music from 1743 is out of line with Handel's previous works intended for performance at St. James's. He probably expected an old-style Thanksgiving at St. Paul's for this occasion, and quite reasonably too, since this was the first national rejoicing of its type since 1713. The King, however, remained at St. James's.<sup>42</sup>

When Handel composed the Peace Thanksgiving music in 1749 he was more circumspect in matters of style, and once again the Royal service took place at St. James's.<sup>43</sup> Greene provided the music for the Thanksgiving celebrating the suppression of the '45 Rebellion, but this was a relatively muted rejoicing: George I had encouraged a similarly restrained approach to the Thanksgiving after the '15 uprising.<sup>44</sup>

45 Burney: Commemoration, p. 100-101. (Fifth Performance).

Burney stated that his information came from Barrow and Randall, two members of the original 1732 cast.

46 Burney's list can be checked against the list of Boys leaving the Chapel given in Appendix 5. 'John Brown' is the only name which does not also appear there.

47 See Burney: Commemoration, Sketch, p. 22: 'The Chorus, consisting of performers from the Chapel-royal and Westminster-Abbey ... '.

48 The two men seem to have developed a good working relationship as the regular demands of oratorio performances built up, but there is no evidence of personal friendship beyond that. It is intriguing, nevertheless, that Gates' first Esther performance took place on February 23, which was probably Handel's birthday.

### The Chapel Royal and Handel's Oratorios

Brief mention was made in the preceding section of the performances of Esther arranged by Bernard Gates in 1732, performances which led Handel towards the introduction of English works into his theatre season, and ultimately to the creation of a characteristic genre of English oratorio. The Chapel Royal was closely involved with the 1732 performances, and Chapel musicians remained involved as performers in the later works. A short commentary on the Chapel Royal's contribution to Handel's oratorios is therefore relevant. By 1732, Handel could draw on 20 years' experience of working with the Chapel Royal: if the Chapel's resources contributed a part to the artistic success of Handelian Oratorio, this was largely because the composer knew how best to use them. In addition to using Chapel Royal performers, Handel also used Chapel Royal music: some works previously composed for the Chapel musicians found new uses within the oratorios.

For information on Gates' original 1732 performance of Esther we have to rely heavily on Burney's account, written half a century later.<sup>45</sup> The cast which Burney gives consists, with one exception, of accredited Chapel Royal Boys.<sup>46</sup> 'Boys' need not be taken too literally: the habit of retaining the most useful choristers after their voices had broken was well established and the Chapel Royal performance need not have been an all-Treble affair. It is probable that some of the Gentlemen helped out with the lower parts in the choruses.<sup>47</sup> To judge from their later careers, the Chapel had a particularly talented set of Boys in 1732. This was fortunate, but credit should be given to Gates for his acumen in seeing how they could be put to good use. There is no doubt that Gates himself was well-known to Handel,<sup>48</sup> who had composed bass solos for him in Chapel Royal music as far

49 NCB, p. 32

50 As already noted, the two men were also closely  
involved with the Royal Wedding in 1733.

51 Dean: Oratorios, p. 205-6. Dean's acceptance of  
Burney's account of what happened in 1732 has been  
challenged by Arthur Jacobs: see the extended corres-  
pondence in MT during 1969-1970. Dean's interpretation  
may or may not be correct. Sykes: Gibson, on the  
other hand, provides ample supporting evidence for my  
contention that efficient administration was one of  
Gibson's special concerns.



back as 1712/3.

Some mention must be made of Bishop Gibson, the Dean of the Chapel Royal who, according to Burney, was responsible for a ban on the Chapel Royal Boys acting on the public stage 'even with books [i.e. music] . in the children's hands'. The Dean's intervention was the result of an exceptional set of circumstances. Day-to-day control of the Chapel was normally exercised by the Sub-Dean; in February 1732 the Sub-Dean was Edward Aspinwall. Aspinwall signed no entries in the Cheque-Book between 1 December 1731<sup>49</sup> and his death in August 1732. It seems highly probable that he was incapacitated in February 1732 and that the Dean was more directly responsible for the running of the Chapel than usual. Gibson had been Dean of the Chapel since 1721: Handel would surely have had to deal with him at some stage during the 1720's in connection with music for the Chapel Royal or the Coronation.<sup>50</sup> There is no evidence to suggest that he had any personal animosity towards Handel. Winton Dean interprets Gibson's ban on stage performances by the Chapel Boys as the product of a generally obstructive temperament.<sup>51</sup> In the light of Gibson's other activities in relation to the Chapel, I suggest a different interpretation of his motives.

Where the Chapel was concerned, Gibson had a concern for efficient administration and was willing to spend time in seeing that things ran as he wished; in this, he seems to have differed from most of his predecessors. It was Gibson who turned the Chapel Royal Cheque Book into the 'Old' Cheque Book: he probably took one look at the volume, with its antiquated arrangement and disorganised entries, and decided immediately that a fresh start was necessary. The New Cheque Book was made up to begin from the day of Gibson's appointment. He seems to have decided quite soon that

52 The original draft, signed by Gibson, is in Lambeth Palace Library, Fulham Papers 124. Copies in NCB and Windsor: RA 36. See also Supplement: Conditions of Performance.

53 If there was bad feeling between Greene and Gates, this would have produced an unstable situation in the Chapel in any case. Aspinwall's successor as Sub-Dean, George Carleton, was related to Greene and may have exerted some pressure on Gibson. (I thank Dr. H. Diack Johnstone for confirming that Carleton and Greene were related by marriage.)

the day-to-day administration of the Chapel needed tightening up. He prepared an elaborate set of rules which defined precisely the duties of the members of the Chapel, described standards to be observed in behaviour at services and set up a system of enforcement. This reached its final form in 1726.<sup>52</sup> Having set up a tidy and efficient machinery to make sure that the Chapel performed its duties as he wished, Gibson could be expected to resist anything which threatened to upset the system.<sup>53</sup> He would discourage any move which appeared to increase the extra-mural activities of Chapel Royal personnel: it was difficult enough to maintain good order when so many Gentlemen also served in the other London Choirs. We can imagine the questions which ran through his mind when he heard of the proposal to put Esther on to the theatrical stage. Would the Boys' attendance at Chapel suffer? Was Mr. Handel proposing a series of performances? Was Mr. Gates going to abuse his Chapel Royal office by creating a theatrical agency? Perhaps Gibson saw the future more clearly than most of his contemporaries.

Faced with the Dean's ban, Handel took what now appears to us as the obvious decision, to mount a production without stage action which made the best use of his forces, using his opera singers as soloists and the Chapel Royal as the foundation of the chorus. In terms of the music, this entailed increasing the amount of chorus work in Esther. With the success of the Coronation behind him, Handel inserted music from two Coronation Anthems at appropriate points in the story and advertised that the music would be 'disposed after the Manner of the Coronation Service'. During the subsequent decade Handel's demand for a chorus varied from season to season, but after his return from Ireland in 1743 the chorus was a regular necessity for the oratorio per-



- 54 Baildon, Barrow, Cheriton, Ladd and Vanderman.  
Compare Deutsch: Handel p. 751 with the lists in Appendix 5. Of the others in the list, Cox joined the Chapel Royal in 1755, 'Duppee' may be Dupuis (Chapel Royal B87 and later Organist 1779) and Champness joined the Chapel later in life (1789) after a career in the theatre.
- 55 Some of the Priests did, however, take part in the Court Odes.
- 56 These were Cox and Rowe, see Appendix 5 and also Dean: Oratorios, p. 654-660. ~~Some~~ of Dean's biographical material is, I believe, incorrect. I identify Cox with Chapel Royal B80 and Gentleman 85. Wass is unlikely to have sung in the 1737 Funeral Anthem. Dean's entry for Abbot (p.651), who was a Priest of the Chapel, must unfortunately be removed from the canon: the appearance of his name in the Athalia conducting score can be attributed to the preparation of the 1734 Wedding Anthem This is the Day.
- 57 In 1757 the cast for the Foundling Hospital Messiah performers included a boy from St. Paul's, 'Mr. Savage's celebrated Boy': see Shaw: Messiah Companion, p. 64. By 1757 the performances advertised under Handel's name were in practice organised by the Smiths, and Gates was no longer in charge of the Chapel boys: see Burrows: Foundling Hospital, p. 273. While Gates was active, Handel's treble soloists almost certainly came from the Chapel.
- 58 Beard was discharged from the ranks of the Chapel Boys at the end of October 1734 (Appendix 5, B64) and appeared on stage in a Tenor role in Ariodante on 8 January 1735.
- 59 Although Beard was still a Chapel Boy in October/November 1733, when Handel composed the Wedding Anthem, his voice may have broken. The Tenor solo 'Strength and honour' may have been intended for him.



formances. The Chapel Royal Gentlemen who took part presumably found ways of fitting the oratorios in with their normal activities: Gates provided the chorus Trebles from the ranks of the Boys.

It may be doubted whether the complete Chapel Royal establishment even took part in any of Handel's London theatre performances. The forces listed in the Foundling Hospital Messiah accounts from the 1750's almost certainly reflect the composition of Handel's regular chorus. The Trebles probably numbered half a dozen at the most. Of the 13 named chorus singers in the 1754 Foundling Hospital list, about half were Chapel Royal Gentlemen;<sup>54</sup> the remainder were presumably professional theatre singers. It is noticeable that none of the Gentlemen named in the lists were Priests of the Chapel, and this is what we would expect.<sup>55</sup> The named Chapel Royal Laymen were some of the most active members of the establishment, so Handel presumably attracted the keenest singers. They rarely ventured beyond the chorus. Wass was the only Gentleman who was also an important regular soloist for Handel, and the minor soloists include only two others.<sup>56</sup> Handel's team of soloists from time to time included 'The Boy' who would generally have been one of Gates' Chapel Royal choristers.<sup>57</sup> Some of the choristers performed in the oratorios in later life as adult soloists. The most famous of them was John Beard, who went straight from the Chapel into Handel's opera company,<sup>58</sup> thence to become Handel's leading oratorio tenor. If my interpretation of the relationship between Handel and Greene is correct, Beard's career decision was made at the most sensitive time: if he supported Handel's music for the 1734 Wedding,<sup>59</sup> he may have forfeited his chance of a Gentleman's place at the Chapel.

- 60 Athalia, composed a short time after Deborah in readiness for Handel's visit to Oxford, does not include any music from the Coronation Anthems. Neither the Chapel Royal background nor the reputation of the Coronation music would have been as strong in Oxford as in London: these factors may have influenced Handel slightly. Since he planned to perform both Esther and Deborah in Oxford, however, Handel probably felt that he had consumed all the available music from the Anthems in the previous works.
- 61 Movements from a later Chapel Royal work, the Dettingen Anthem, served a similar function in Joseph (1743) and the 1756 revival of Athalia.
- 62 Music from all four Coronation Anthems was also included in Handel's Oratorio in March 1738.
- 63 See Dean: Oratorios, p. 207, 642. It is interesting that solo movements from the Chandos Anthems were drawn upon, but not those from Chapel Royal anthems.
- 64 See supra, Chapter 8, Plate 3.
- 65 The text as printed in the 1738 word-book, which is our only source of information on that part of the performance, leaves it open as to whether the music performed was the last movement of Anthem 11A or Anthem 11B. Two pieces of circumstantial evidence point to the latter, however: the scoring of 11B was much more appropriate to Handel's forces in the Oratorio, and the key of A major makes a more logical sequence after the previous item in the programme, the aria 'Bianco giglio' in D major.



Concerning the Chapel Royal music which Handel re-used in his oratorios, some generalisations can be made. As we might expect from the advertisements for Handel's 1732 production of Esther, he turned first to the Coronation Anthems. All four of them were used in full or in part in Esther and Deborah during the course of 1732-3.<sup>60</sup> The Old Testament stories gave plenty of opportunity for working the Anthems in effectively as the Jews celebrated the various triumphs of righteousness.<sup>61</sup> The Anthems were, naturally, revived with the oratorios in later years,<sup>62</sup> and Zadok also also found its way into the Occasional Oratorio, composed when the uncertainties of the outcome of the '45 Rebellion seemed to demand the patriotic inclusion of 'God save the King'. In general, solo music from the Chapel Royal works was not used in the oratorios: Handel probably recognised that it was too closely associated with the particular styles of the Chapel's Alto and Bass soloists. It is significant that the only Chapel Royal work on which Handel drew substantially for solo music in the early years of oratorio was the secular Court Ode Eternal source of Light divine.<sup>63</sup>

In only two oratorios did Handel employ his Chapel Royal music composed during the reign of King George I. Anthem 6B was presented in a revised form to open the Oratorio of March 1738.<sup>64</sup> Part I of this performance concluded with a chorus 'Blessed be God. Allelujah', which was almost certainly the last movement of Anthem 11B.<sup>65</sup> More substantial, and more interesting in some ways, was Handel's use of music from Anthem 5B, I will magnifie Thee, at the conclusion of Belshazzar, composed in the autumn of 1744. Handel's letter to Jennens dated 2 October 1744 reveals that the latter had suggested the inclusion of 'Anthems' at the end of Part Three, as the Persians and Israelites join

- 66 See Dean: Oratorios, p. 434. Handel's use of 'Anthems' in the plural presumably means that, at that stage, he was thinking of 'Tell it out among the Heathen' in its Chandos Anthem context, as part of Anthem 8 rather than Anthem 5B.
- 67 The text quoted by Handel includes 'The Lord preserveth', one of the movements from Anthem 5A which was not transferred to 5B.
- 68 The recitative was for the character Cyrus. Handel's plan as he composed the oratorio was clearly that the recitative should introduce the final Anthem, Mrs. Robinson (in the character of Cyrus) singing both the recitative and the ensuing solo at the beginning of I will magnifie Thee. At the last minute an illness in the cast forced Handel to redistribute the parts and Cyrus was given to a Bass; it is probable, however, that Mrs. Robinson kept 'I will magnifie Thee'.
- 69 See Clausen: Direktionspartituren, p. 121-123.
- 70 See Clausen, op.cit., p. 119. Although Handel was nominally responsible for the oratorio performances in his last years, I think that the artistic decisions were mainly taken by the Smiths, and obvious errors of judgement like the one described here seem to confirm this.



together in praise of the Almighty after the defeat of the Babylonians.<sup>66</sup> Handel was disturbed by the idea of including complete anthems in what was already a long oratorio. The text which he quotes in the letter reveals that he was thinking in terms of using Anthem 5A to 'conclude well the Oratorio'.<sup>67</sup> In the event he used the Chapel Royal version instead. I suggest three reasons for this: the Chapel Royal version was shorter, the music had been improved in the course of revision from the Chandos version, and it suited his oratorio performing forces better. The composer's emendations to the autograph of the Anthem for use in the Oratorio have been mentioned in Chapter 9. The chorus 'Tell it out among the heathen' (No. 4) was transposed to G major, the opening solo being given to the soprano Francesina. A newly-composed recitative followed this chorus in the oratorio, and then Handel put together the first and last movements of the Anthem as a single-movement finale.<sup>68</sup> Both movements were subjected to further cuts and revisions after they had been copied into the conducting score.<sup>69</sup> Handel's selection of music from the Chapel Royal version for use in Belshazzar was both effective and practical. Twelve years later J.C. Smith senior showed less common-sense, or perhaps merely a greater ignorance of what was available, when he introduced the last movement of Anthem 5, 'My mouth shall speak the praise of the Lord' into a revival of Athalia.<sup>70</sup> He began by copying the opening from the Chandos Anthem 5A, but then realised that this version, with its 3-part chorus and lack of orchestral viola parts, would cause trouble as soon as the chorus and orchestra entered, so he welded the ending from Anthem 5B onto the solo from 5A.

71 See Chapter 5, supra

72 Deutsch: Handel, p. 326-329. Deutsch arbitrarily identified the works performed as the Utrecht service and two Coronation Anthems (p. 323-4) without any justification from his own documents.

73 There is some circumstantial evidence from the vice-Chancellor's Accounts of Oxford University, that the University Organist was not responsible for these performances: see Burrows: Oxford, p. 178 footnote 9. There is no payment to Handel in these Accounts, however, and none of Handel's church music autographs seem to bear any markings from 1733.

74 See Deutsch: Handel, p. 525-527

75 Deutsch: Handel, p. 401

76 RMARC, viii, p. 24

### Later performances of the Chapel Royal music

Apart from a revival of the Caroline Te Deum for the Peace Thanksgiving in 1749,<sup>71</sup> we cannot be sure that Handel gave any complete performances after 1727 of the church music which he had composed for the Chapel Royal under Queen Anne and King George I. There are two other occasions on which he might have revived some of this repertoire, but our knowledge of both occasions is limited by vagueness and ambiguities in the documentary evidence. During Handel's visit to Oxford in 1733, his 'Te Deum and Anthems' were performed at St. Mary's Church on Sunday July 8th. The reports tell us no more.<sup>72</sup> It is probable, but not certain, that the Te Deum was the Utrecht setting, the anthems are not specified, and there is no explicit evidence that Handel directed the performance.<sup>73</sup> In 1741, soon after his arrival in Dublin, Handel played the organ for a performance in aid of Mercer's Hospital which certainly included the Utrecht canticles:<sup>74</sup> but we do not know to what extent this performance can be said to have been Handel's own.

With regard to performances of the music by others during Handel's lifetime, it is convenient to separate the Utrecht service from the rest. As noted in Chapter 4, this setting became popular in provincial performances 'after the Cathedral way', the earliest recorded one occurring at Bristol in 1727. After the performance in St. Paul's Cathedral at the Festival of the Sons of the Clergy in 1731 it became well established in the London repertoire, and Walsh's publication of the score soon followed. From this point it is hardly useful to follow the work's fortunes: it was accessible and popular, and was part of the regular repertoire of the provincial performances at Dublin (from 1736),<sup>75</sup> Salisbury (from 1740)<sup>76</sup> and the Three Choirs Festival (probably

77 The programmes from the 1730's are poorly documented. See the summary in Young: Three Choirs, p. 11-13, and also Shaw: Three Choirs, p. 8-9.

78 loc. cit., p. (i). The first page of the preface is devoted mainly to explaining the problems of finding copies of Handel's English Church Music in the 1770's.

79 Deutsch: Handel, p. 497-498



from the 1730's).<sup>77</sup> The setting maintained its place within the standard repertoire even after the appearance of Handel's equally popular Dettingen Te Deum.

The rest of the Chapel Royal music was less accessible and performances seem to have been rare. Although this music was stimulated by the conditions specific to the Chapel Royal and the special talents of the Chapel's performers, it would have been ideally suited in style and scale to the resources available for many provincial performances. It was not published during Handel's lifetime, and the favoured 'library' collections of volumes prepared under the direction of J.C. Smith senior account for most of the early manuscript copies. John Alcock was correct when he wrote on his copy of the A major Te Deum that it was 'in very few hands'. As late as the 1770's enthusiasts for Handel's music like Watkins Williams Wynn had to seek out their own manuscript copies of the unpublished music as best they could. In the Preface to the pastiche 'Handel' oratorio Omnipotence (1774) the Editor, presumably Samuel Arnold, complained that the Chandos Anthems were 'difficult to attain':<sup>78</sup> this was even more true of the Chapel Royal works, and Anthems 4A, 5B, 6B, 6C and 6D remained so even after Arnold's own collected edition was published.

The recurring vagueness of advertisements referring to 'Two Anthems' or 'Two New Anthems' by Handel makes it impossible to estimate the number of early performances of the Chapel Royal repertoire. More often than not, these 'Anthems' seem to have been the Coronation anthems. Even when anthem titles are given, it is not usually possible to tell whether the Chapel Royal versions were performed. O sing unto the Lord was performed at Hickford's Room in April 1740,<sup>79</sup> and an anthem with the same title was performed at Salisbury in October 1754, along with I

80 RMARC, v, p. 54

81 See Appendix 4

82 The contents of these part-books were first brought to my attention by Grady Beeks, who examined them in 1975. The Mercer's Hospital performances included 'Two new Anthems' by Handel from 1739 onwards. In 1739 these were Coronation Anthems (see Deutsch: Handel, p. 475): the repertoire was probably extended during the 1740's.

83 Dublin Philharmonic Wordbook, p. 17-18. Some doubts as to the significance of the year printed on the title page arise because the Word-book includes the text of Boyce's Solomon, which was not performed in Dublin until 1742. (See Bartlett and Bruce: Boyce's Solomon, p. 28-39). It is possible that the Word-book was begun in 1741 and that later sections were added in ensuing editions without a change to the title page.

will magnifie Thee.<sup>80</sup> Probably the Chandos versions were given on both occasions. The performances where the identity of the Chapel Royal works is beyond question are few indeed:

Sons of the Clergy Festival Services<sup>81</sup>

1731/2 One 'anthem for George I' (possibly repeated in next two years),

1734/5 Te Deum in A major ('Te Deum in Airy')

Dublin, Mercer's Hospital Benefit, and Philharmonic Society

The repertoire of the Mercer's Hospital performances during the 1740's and 1750's can be established from the contents of a set of part-books still in the possession of Mercer's Hospital:<sup>82</sup> in addition to the Utrecht service and two Coronation Anthems, these parts include the Chapel Royal version of I will magnifie Thee (Anthem 5B), transposed to G major. The Philharmonic Society's word-book dated 1741 includes the texts of Anthems 5B and 11B.<sup>83</sup>

We may guess that some of the early surviving copies of the Chapel Royal music were connected with other performances: Alcock's copies of the Caroline and A major Te Deums, for example, or the surviving parts for the A major Te Deum and Anthem 5B now in the Guildhall Library, London, or some of the early scores coupling the A major Te Deum with Anthem 11B.

One performance I have left until last because it claims special attention. In 1729 a Pension Fund was established for the Chapel Royal, the Gentlemen's subscriptions being invested in South Sea stock in order to provide an income for their widows or legatees. The moving force behind the scheme was John Church, who performed the secretarial work for it in the early years. Most of the Gentlemen, including the Priests, joined the Fund. In order to accumulate some capital the Chapel mounted a series



84 DPB February 22 1732/3 (and subsequent issues);  
also DJ February 24. After the first performance the  
promoters seem to have decided that the purpose of the  
concerts should be made public, and this footnote was  
added to the advertisements: .

NB The Performances of Church Musick at Whitehall are  
for augmenting a Fund for the Widows, &c. of the  
Gentlemen of the Chappel Royal, who die in his  
Majesty's Service.

No information on the performances is to be found in  
Deutsch: Handel, but a laudatory verse inspired by the  
Handel concert is reprinted on p. 339-340.



of three concerts in March and April 1733. Advertisements in the newspapers for the first performance ran as follows:

To be Performed, at the Royal Chapel at Whitehall, by the Gentlemen of his Majesty's Chappel Royal and the best Hands

HARMONIA SACRA; consisting of the TE DEUM, JUBILATE, ANTHEMS, and other Pieces of CHURCH MUSICK, composed by the most eminent Masters, ancient and modern.

The Whole will be divided into Three Performances.

The First to be on Tuesday the 13th Day of March and to consist of the following Pieces, viz.

A TE DEUM, JUBILATE and TWO ANTHEMS, performed at his Majesty's Chapel Royal: All with Voices and Instruments, and set to Musick by Mr. Handel.

. . . . .

The Several Performances to begin at Twelve o'Clock

TICKETS will be delivered at ONE GUINEA each TICKET, which will entitle any Person to be admitted to the Three Performances<sup>84</sup>

The two anthems would almost certainly have been selected from the repertoire composed by Handel for the Chapel during the period 1722-1726. The Jubilate must have been the Utrecht setting, but this could have been coupled with any one of Handel's three Chapel Royal settings of the Te Deum - the Utrecht, the Caroline or the A major. The last two would probably have been better suited to the forces available.

All three concerts were accompanied by orchestra, and the programmes were built around music associated with the Chapel Royal. The second performance of the series included Purcell's D major Te Deum and Jubilate and Bononcini's Funeral Anthem for the Duke of



Marlborough; the third performance was devoted to music by Greene - a Te Deum, an Anthem and the Song of Deborah and Barak. The venture as a whole was extremely successful and produced £130 profit for the Pension Fund.

Surveying the three programmes, one is envious of the Chapel Royal's good fortune. During the previous 50 years they had been actively involved with some of the greatest living composers. Things were never quite the same again. As already described, the Chapel's activity diminished a little in the 1740's, and the trend continued in the next decade. During the 1750's the King grew old, Handel went blind, Greene died. Although Boyce's talent should not be under-estimated, the Chapel Royal in the second half of the century had lost the colour and energy which had vitalised it in earlier years. The Chapel musicians themselves came to admit this. In 1792 they discovered that concerts had been held in aid of the Pension Fund in 1733, though 'no other Particulars are handed down', and a sub-committee consisting of Dupuis, Arnold and Guise was set up to consider whether a new series of concerts should be promoted in aid of the Fund. No doubt the recollection of the Handel Festivals at Westminster Abbey was fresh in their minds, and the healthy income it had raised for the Royal Society of Musicians. Dr Arnold presented the sub-committee's report on 27 December 1792, and it makes gloomy reading:

Musick being more generally diffused & better understood than formerly, it is imagined that (notwithstanding the Excellence of many Gentlemen of the Chapel) a Performance would have no Attraction without the Assistance of some Female Performers, which could not be suffered in White Hall Chapel.

It is difficult to imagine such a report being presented in the age of Richard Elford and Bernard Gates. The Chapel Royal during the period 1710-1727 was a lively, dynamic, self-sufficient musical and artistic entity at the centre of London life. It commanded the attention of the media and it was at the centre of Court affairs in London, at a time when these affairs were controversial and the objects of public attention. If the Chapel was fortunate in its association with a composer of Handel's stature, Handel was fortunate in the cohesive artistic tradition which the Chapel offered as a musical stimulant. The fruits of the collaboration between the two are in the music which has been described in the preceding chapters.